In this Issue are Messages from Winston Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek

FREE WORLD

San Francisco

By

Edward R. Stettinius

ROOSEVELT
Thomas Mann

•

WORLD SECURITY
Sir Thomas Angell

•

LABOR AND WORLD ORGANIZATION
Philip Murray
R. J. Thomas

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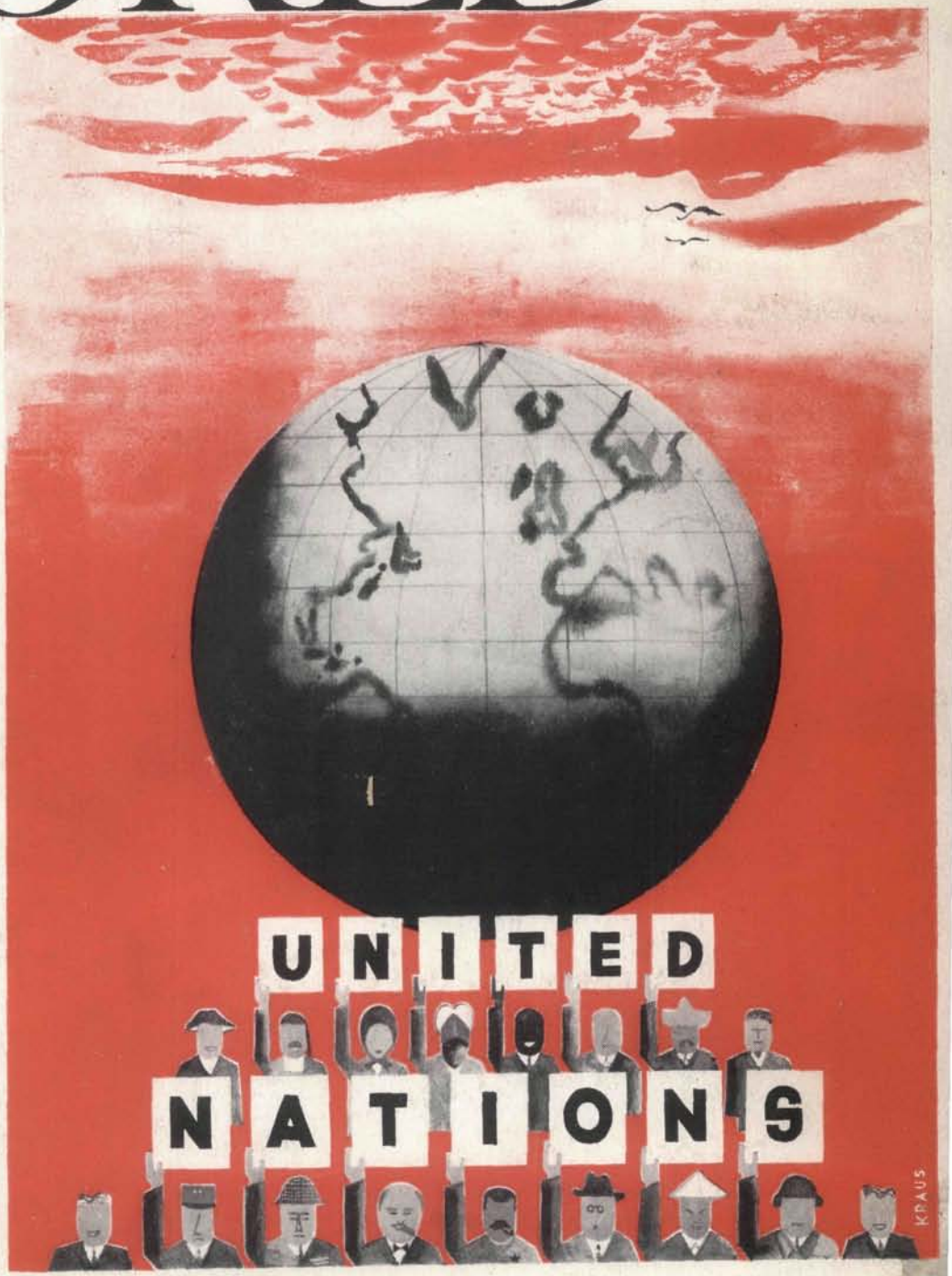
BUSINESS AFTER SAN FRANCISCO
Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.
R. W. G. Mackay

•

THE WORLD'S PEOPLE TALK OF PEACE



MAY, 1945 40c

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"Forêt en Lorraine" painted for Pinaud by Bernard Lamotte

Lilianelle

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The State of the World...

Mourning THE announcement of the death of the President came during the last hours at the printshop for FREE WORLD. As soon as we were able to recover partially from the paralyzing grief into which the announcement had plunged us—as it had millions of Americans and people all over the world—we reached for the telephone.

We called some of the delegates who had arrived from foreign countries for the forthcoming Free World Congress or for the San Francisco Conference. We talked to French, Yugoslav, Chinese, Czechoslovak and other delegates. No one extended the usual greetings. The first words were "How terrible!" "Poor humanity!" "This is a loss to every citizen of my own country." Many of the people we talked to ended the conversation abruptly because they were too broken up to continue.

Then some of them said, "It will be harder and tougher without him, but we have to fight it through, because to betray his vision would be to betray the future of humanity."

One of the delegates to whom we spoke said, "He is the first man in our time whose death will be a personal loss to every decent human being." Another said, "The only really worthwhile monument we could erect to him is a permanent world organization."

Matsuoka's Disappointment

On the fifth of April, Moscow denounced its pact of neutrality with Tokyo. The pact had been negotiated by a Japanese educated in an American university, Baron Matsuoka, sworn enemy of Russia. But this, of course, did not prevent him, when leaving Moscow, from displaying to photographers who came to escort him to the station his most engaging smile.

This pact had enabled Russia partially to lighten the guard on her Far Eastern frontiers at the time when nazi troops were approaching the Kremlin. Soviet writers have since revealed that when the Red capital was most exposed the divisions which had arrived from Siberia were thrown into the battle without losing a second.

Today the pact has lost its meaning, and Matsuoka, who was the former director of the South Manchurian Railroad, an instrument of Japanese expansion, sees his undertaking reduced to naught.

The Economic Test

Many key U. S. officials are in San Francisco with other United Nations leaders trying to bring world organization a step closer to reality. But the great threat to security is in Washington. World *political* organization is a more popular concept than it has ever been before in the U. S.; world *economic* organization is still unknown territory. The Bretton Woods Agreement and the Trade Agreements Act are before the Congress without benefit of general public understanding. But concern is mounting. Just the right emphasis from San Francisco could put the idea of economic cooperation over the top in U. S. minds. Our guess is that the Bretton Woods proposals will come out of the House Committee with a favorable report—but by a very narrow margin—and that the bill will pass the House. The Senate will be a tougher proposition, but that test will not come for weeks yet. Public opinion will finally determine the result.

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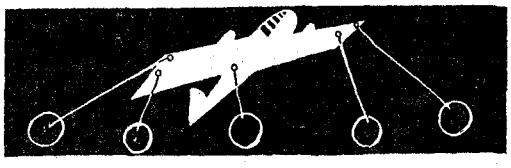
Long Policy Needed

The number of long-term recovery loans the U. S. will make to foreign countries will be much fewer in number and much less in amount than has been rumored. The International Bank which the Bretton Woods plan will create will do a great deal more long-term loan business than was done by the old Bank of International Settlements but much less than has been generally expected here. Loans of six billion dollars to Russia and four billion to Britain, which have been rumored, are likely to add up to between four and five billion dollars in all. The big flow of international capital will not come immediately after the war ends. After the last war, capital export did not really begin until five to six years after the Armistice. We have perhaps two years this time before we must form our loan policies toward the rest of the world.



Aviation Treaty

The International Civil Aviation Treaty, which in its final form deals with little more than the administration of technical and safety standards, is headed for speedy Congressional approval. But the accompanying executive agreements embodying the so-called "Five Freedoms of the Air" have strong opposition in the Senate and from certain special interests in organized labor. These elements continue to fight for a "chosen instrument" policy like the British system. But the forces against the McCarran "chosen instrument" bill will prevent its passage on a showdown, expert lobbyists say and we agree.

Longevity For FEA

Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton has instructed the Foreign Economic Administration to stop its purchasing programs from economically dependent nations very gradually. This means FEA will be in business longer after victory than had been expected.

Political Prospects in France

Our correspondent in Paris informs us that an extensive poll has been conducted throughout France to determine exactly the political leanings of French public opinion, with particular regard to the national elections. The results of this poll, here presented for the first time in the American press are as follows:

39%	Socialist
22%	Communist
11%	Radical Socialist (which means neither radical, not socialist, but a middle-class liberal party)
1½%	Christian Democrat

The remaining 26½% are divided: one-half conservative center votes, the other half undetermined.

The most interesting feature about these figures is the weakness of the Christian Democrats, a party which is strongly represented in the government.

Thus it is once again confirmed that France remains attached to the idea of strict separation of Church and State, and does not want any Church party to run for office. If these figures are not changed appreciably by the home-coming prisoners and deportees, it means that France will have a government strongly resembling the political constellation of 1936.

Foreign Affairs on the March

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs is vastly improved over that of the last Congress. The new members are unusually intelligent and energetic. Helen Gahagan Douglas and Emily Douglas are setting a new tone keyed to their own seriousness of purpose. When hearings on the very important war criminals bill were cut off short, although not unusually so, Rep. Helen Douglas protested that neither she nor the other members nor the public knew enough on this question and won an extension from her surprised senior colleagues. Look for more thorough inquiries into foreign policy issues.

* * *

Republican Congressional leaders are giving signs that their support of international cooperation may break up on the question of extending trade agreements and reducing tariff rates. Watch this.

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Roosevelt Day

As we are going to press Mrs. D. de Sola Pool wires us the suggestion that April 12 be declared a universal holiday by the United Nations at San Francisco. She points out that the only holidays which are international in their observance are those of a religious nature and that it would be a splendid thing if all the peace-loving nations could unite each year in celebration of a day dedicated to a man who was the friend of all humanity.

Arabian Nights

The most surprising political development among the smaller countries is the Federation of Arab States. Before and during the war in Europe there have been many plans for regional federations, all of which have been abandoned because the Big Powers have made it clear that the basic structure of the coming world organization would be along the general lines of the Dumbarton Oaks principles—so out went the Balkan, the Danubian the Central European and the Western Federations. Many members of the resistance movements who had fought most valiantly against the common enemy, and who were in favor of these plans, shelved them, even though with great reluctance, because they recognized that it was essential to do nothing that could impair the unity of the big United Nations and the functioning of an effective system of collective security.

Only the Arabs, neutrals, half-hearted when not neutrals, never actually at war against the Axis, for many years open to the advances of Mussolini and Hitler, offering swords of honor and other presents, trading abundantly with the Axis, very moderately worried at the moment when Rommel was at the gates of Alexandria—got their federation.

The representatives of the Arab countries traveled freely and fast. They covered long distances, as if on their legendary magic carpet—pre-medieval despots and half-parliamentary régimes were represented in Cairo —and established a federation which did not hesitate to announce aims and objectives without waiting for the San Francisco Conference.

What a magic power oil still has!

Latin American Economy

Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs has discovered Capitol Hill. Rockefeller was not fooling about his determination to put across a basic economic program for Latin America, and his men are at work educating congressmen on what this means. The Rockefeller Office may soon break precedent by setting up an actual Capitol Hill headquarters for liaison work with the Congress.

The State Department might pay sharp attention, for its Congressional emissary Dean Acheson, assigned there after the big reorganization, is a flop. Congressmen don't like his glib explanations of tough problems. After Yalta, Acheson told a House committee that the U. S. got 90 per cent of what it wanted, other countries 10 per cent of what they wanted in that conference. Smart businessmen among the congressmen called his hand, said that was not the way things really happened in the practical world. The fact that Acheson has been boomed for Solicitor General could be a State Department way of greasing him for the skids.

Nelson Rockefeller will leave the San Francisco conference to fly back to Washington and personally direct the campaign for adequate Latin American appropriations. Rockefeller takes his Mexico City promises of a basic economic program for Latin America very seriously. He boasted before leaving for San Francisco that he had a majority of the Republicans on his side. He will see his legislation safely through regardless of what other demands there are on his time.

Problems in Venezuela

In Venezuela, the rich oil companies are using the threat of food shortages as a weapon to fight the demand for wage increases among their workers. There is still enough food in that country, but this attitude is producing astronomical prices and black markets which limit the food supply for low-incomes families.

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Intrigues in Peru?

The West Coast of South America will suffer from severe food shortages this summer. In Peru, potato, bean, and yucca harvests are all expected to be dangerously low. Drought, insects, and a transportation breakdown are the causes. This is an election year in Peru, and the anti-U. S. forces in the country are using the food situation for political propaganda. Every U. S. warship that comes into harbor is rumored to be stealing off with food, with President Prado's blessing.

Food—For Solidarity

U. S. food authorities have muffed the national food program so completely that nothing can be done now to prevent hunger in liberated areas except by reducing U. S. standard of living. The investigations of the food problem being conducted by both houses of the Congress will only produce more gripes, not more food. Little attention will be paid to the international aspects of the question, except in connection with irritations like Argentine beef. Political fears of repercussions from cutting civilian eating standards will block adequate relief abroad.

Aces of Meteorology

In the month of February the long-range bombardment squadrons of the American and English air forces had poured into the Reich 135,000 tons of bombs. Allied losses were less than 1 per cent.

Experts point out that these successes would not have been possible without the cooperation of meteorologists who, in a few hours, gathered all the information without which raids would have been impracticable.

The pilots are the first to pay tribute to the aces of meteorology, the most faithful allies of the aces of the air.

Filipinos Want Free Trade

The Philippines appear destined for early political strife. At this writing it appears that the United States will accede to the request of Commonwealth President Osmena for an independence proclamation this fall. A general election is scheduled for the Philippines on November 6. If Osmena can become President of the Philippine Republic prior to November 6, he will assure his tenure. Meanwhile many Filipinos, including members of Osmena's cabinet, are openly advocating the non-severance of ties with the United States.

It seems certain that the new Republic will be unable to cope with the rehabilitation and economic problems of the islands unless trade preferences are granted by the U. S. The Filipinos have asked for 20 years free trade but it is doubtful whether Congress will extend trade preferences for more than a few years.

Crime Archives

One would think that after the incredible crimes committed by nazi Germany, not only against the occupied countries but also against American prisoners of war, no one would dare question the guilt of Germany. However, correspondents' stories from all over Germany indicate that not a single German has as yet admitted that he has committed a crime and that when confronted with evidence the only answers one gets are "We acted under orders," or "Our victims were sick people."

Therefore, we strongly suggest that while there is still time, the Allies establish a special agency whose exclusive function it will be to gather documentary evidence on the crimes committed by Germany. At present documents are being gathered by individual Allied nations and the War Crimes Commission in London. But we feel that a coordinated job would be much more effective, and suggest that films and slides be made right at the scene of the crime, portraying the premises, crime victims, and when available, criminals. These will be of great value when the files of the "soft peace" campaign are reopened by Germany for world-wide propaganda.

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FREE WORLD

A Non-Partisan Magazine
devoted to the
United Nations and Democracy

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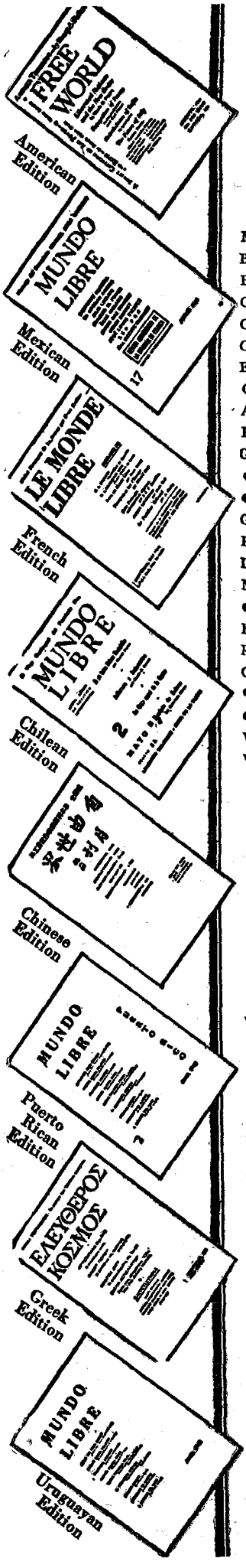

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Free Speech

West Point—On Thomas Mann

Thomas Mann's article, "The End," has been brought to my attention. In a day when so much is being written about Germany and its future, that article is one which should be read by every American citizen who has any concern in the matter, in short by every intelligent adult in this country. There is a very real danger that, soon after the fighting is over, the same national psychology which caused us to leave a job half done in 1918 will again endanger our meeting the responsibilities which are the logical product of our nation's position in world affairs. Mann's presentation, reread at intervals, would be an excellent antidote against the folly of such a course of action.

United States Military Academy.
West Point, N. Y. COLONEL HERMAN BEUKEMA.

* * *

Universal War?

I write from the observations and experiences of ninety-two years. A world democracy which will unite all the nations of the world into one harmonious whole is the only present-day safeguard against universal war. With such a diversity of races that unity will not easily be accomplished. There is one universal truth which must be kept constantly in mind by those who labor for world peace; namely, good is passive, evil is forever active.

Los Angeles, California. C. H. SHOLES.

* * *

Controlling Selfishness

I feel that the real fundamental trouble in our world lies in the trait of human nature—selfishness. I don't believe that human nature in this regard can be changed. If, however, it is recognized as a necessary ingredient of our world, I do think there are ways and means by which it can be minimized and discouraged and even utilized to great advantage.

Some attempt is being made of course by moral and religious teaching to minimize the selfish instinct, and by enactment of laws to discourage some of its extreme forms, but unfortunately the educators and lawmakers seem often to have been motivated by their own selfish ends. Our present outmoded economic system seems to be the greatest stumbling block. It breeds and encourages selfishness. It presents an almost endless number of ways to gain wealth (and through wealth power) without performing any creative work. Even in creative work it allows and encourages the exploitation of other human beings for profit. And vicious competition and lack of economic planning practically demand that labor costs be reduced to a minimum with consequent hardship for many and the eventual cyclical breakdown of consumer demand. This leads to the inevitable depression.

It must also be recognized that extremely powerful selfish interests are at work to promote discord with Russia and to eventually promote war with Russia because they fear the spread of the Russian system. These same powerful selfish interests seem to control or influence most of the world's propaganda facilities. This makes it extremely important that all non-partisan publications such as the FREE WORLD should double and redouble their efforts toward peace and a better world.

Ottawa, Canada. HUGH G. ROSS.

* * *

Cooperation—Not Conscription

One day in 1894 I watched uninterested and unwilling peacetime conscripts of the French Republic drill in the Champ de Mars in Paris. It was not a pleasant spectacle.

France was bled white in the great war that started twenty years later.

France survived only by the help of powerful armies thrown in first by Britain and then by the United States, neither of which had conscription before the war.

Peacetime conscription did not save France in 1940. Lack of prewar conscription did not prevent England from holding out. Peacetime conscription did not save our great ally Russia from disastrous invasion. Modern experience seems to show that conscription in time of peace is not assurance either against attack or against defeat. We are at the crossroads. If we turn militaristic, by entering upon peacetime conscription, we not only expect war—we invite war.

If in contrast we cooperate with the other nations to set up the beginnings of world government and aim at the transfer to such government of the police power, we need not expect war, or prepare for it, and we will in all probability not have war. If we choose this course, peacetime conscription would be a contradiction of our pacific intentions and an advertisement of our lack of faith. We cannot honestly do both.

Wilmette, Illinois. DONALD H. MAXWELL.

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In Memoriam

In memory of Sgt. Joseph Rudas, who lost his life in the struggle to establish a "free world," we, his friends, wish to make this contribution to the Free World Association.

Although Joe was a Czech who came to the United States when Hitler occupied his country, he became one of us so quickly that his companions soon forgot his European origin.

As a result of his own experiences, Joe understood the facts of America's position and the necessity for her leadership in the postwar world better than most of us. As a result of our association with him, we believe that we now see more clearly the positive issues involved in the fight for freedom.

Because you are working toward the goal that Joe hoped some day to see a reality, we are sure that he would join with us in wishing you good luck. CAPTAIN GERALD F. ELSE, U.S.M.C.R.

% Postmaster, New York, N. Y.

Free World accepts not only the contribution but the trust to work for the world for which Joseph Rudas died.

* * *

Against Democracy?

With all due respect for the work you are doing there is one particular point upon which I cannot agree with you and it is a vital one, and that is the matter of democracy.

Many ages ago Aristotle pointed out that each of the various forms of government had its good and bad side. He divided the government by many into Commonwealth and Democracy, and designated the latter as the "degenerate" form. I am unable to find fault with his decision.

There seems to be a tendency today to read into the meaning of democracy many features that are positively foreign to it. Democracy in my judgment is a form of government; just that and nothing more; and I am positively convinced that democracy has never been a success and never will be. We have had democracy in the United States of America for nearly two hundred years, and to me it has been anything but a success. Under democracy and the economic system that rules the world a few people in this country control practically everything—government, the production and distribution of goods and labor—while a very large percentage of the masses just live.

I have reached the conclusion that there will never be peace in this world until its affairs are in the hands of the most enlightened, far-visioned, humanitarian and scientific men and women to be found, who will serve as long as they have the capacity to serve, and be succeeded by others especially trained for the purpose. Then every nation in the world should have free access to its fair share of all needed raw materials wherever located, and everything made should be for use only. Nothing but the best should be produced. Children should be scientifically trained and educated and enabled to rise as high as their capacities might permit. Care for the unfit should be provided, and every effort made to restore them to normal life. It is reasonably possible that under such environment the unfit in time would disappear from existence.

Stockton, California. W. G. A. MILLER.

* * *

Free World Congress

Good luck to the Fourth Free World Congress. It does not worry me that I can't attend because I wouldn't know how to say what I'd want to say there if I could.

However, I wish someone would see fit to make a motion to outlaw competition. That is capitalistic competition—the kind which leaves the beaten fellows without sufficient daily bread. As it seems to me, nobody wants that kind for themselves but, strange as it may seem, all like it only when others do the competing. For instance, the various "free enterprises" want laborers to compete because that lowers wages, but do all they can to avoid competition, or kill it, as among themselves. I have heard considerable ranting about unions by non-union men, but I still have to meet a laborer who is willing to take less than union wages, unless he happens to be in duress of circumstances. Making it short, I wish to see industry and business of every kind placed on a cooperative basis.

Jamestown, California. ARKO SCANAVINO.

* * *

A Cattle Man Speaks

If one handles cattle, as I have, he knows that one can control them with feed, and fight with them vainly if he has nothing for them to eat.

There is no need for statesmanship or science in this. UNNRA has had one-and-a-half years to prepare, to get their supplies of food available. What was the matter?

If the men who are planning to guide our work, have not enough "horse sense" to use this simple and primitive method of building peace and goodwill among all kinds of animals and humans, their oratory can be shouted to the stars. It will not save a hungry world from more bloodshed and destruction.

Ft. St. James, A. J. MUSGROVE NORMAN.
B. C. Canada.

* * *

Full Employment

Senator James E. Murray's article in your March issue, describing the Full Employment Bill, was very interesting. It seems to me that the Senator and his associates in the Bill are making a commendable effort to implement the talk about our public responsibility for full employment. We all agree that we cannot let our veterans and other citizens drift into large scale unemployment. We hope that private enterprise can carry the ball—but if not, Senator Murray's Bill puts on the public record that the Government will step into the picture to the extent necessary. We know that this will be our course of action if necessary, so why not legalize the intention and get our plans made, if and when.

Another interesting proposal in the Senator's bill is the combined Senate-House Committee.

Missoula, Montana. HANLEY HOLMES.

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Letters on the Poll

I heartily agree that the U. S. should "join a world organization, and promise that some American armed forces can be used with those of other nations if this is ever necessary to stop one country from attacking another."

If we agree to any weaker proposition, then we will be removing the cornerstone of any future international collective action—that is the positive commitment of the use of armed force in order to prevent aggression. This will be the sanction of international law that will make it as effective as a national law is against a murderer.

We have sent U. S. troops out of the U. S. seventy-seven times in our history—and without the consent of Congress. Pledging ourselves to do so in the future is as sound a step as we could possibly take—our failure not to do so will mean a stillbirth of any new league—no matter how splendid is the palace of peace it builds or how sweet-sounding are the pledges of eternal peace.

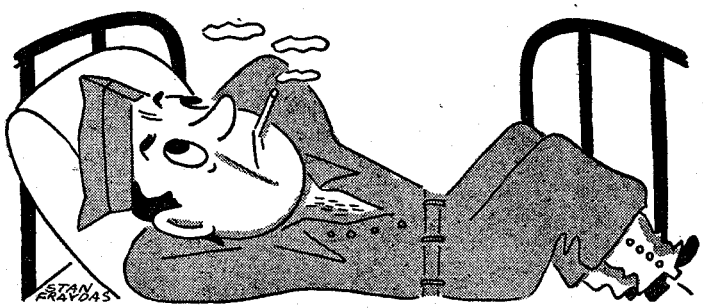
Fort Bragg, North Carolina. CPL. HALLARD MCKENNA.

More About Conscription

Surely one must be for world organization to build and keep peace, since other methods have had such frequent and costly failure. The establishment of this organization will give an opportunity to observe faults and omissions so that all may work toward a "more perfect union."

There are, however, times when the right hand should be conscious of what the left hand is about. While we start to build this international cooperation with our right hand, we must not be digging out the foundation with our left. Successful cooperation is built upon trust and upon wholehearted effort. At this time we are consulting for cooperative action, we are strong beyond our former dreams, and we are sure to remain so for years. If at such a time we pass a peacetime conscription bill, we shall rouse distrust of our future purpose, and our present good faith. And by dividing our own trust and effort, we shall make our full participation in cooperation impossible.

Newtonville, Massachusetts. G. S. LOCKE.



Men Who Write the Peace

People with vision will adhere to the formula expressed in the first statement. So will nations.

But the greatest fear is of those who wrote the first peace and then welched on their agreements, thereby setting the forces in operation which led to World War II; of those who by their failure to instantly stop aggressive forces appearing on the international horizon, aided Japan and Germany in their careers of brigandage. If such men shall again write the peace who so far have shown themselves unable to modify their political, social and economic thinking, how can the world expect a stable, enduring peace to be established?

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. LEON SOLIS-COHEN, M.D.

* * *

Praise for Welles

It has been a pleasure to see Orson Welles connected with FREE WORLD. It is, however, unfortunate that his ingenious talent cannot be used in Hollywood for the production of anti-fascist pictures. His technical skill combined with his ardent ideas for a free world should and must have some medium of expression in the advancing field of motion pictures.

San Francisco, California. CARL PEARLSTEIN.

World Government

I contend that the only way to obtain certain lasting peace is the establishment of an international government with full control of all means of warfare all over the world. There should be an international army and navy and air force, consisting of volunteers from each district. I think there should be about 500 districts in the world, each district being represented by one delegate to the international congress which would constitute the world government.

Then I think a committee of linguists should be selected to formulate an international language based on a vocabulary selected from the different languages of the world. There should be a scientific and regular system of conjugation for all verbs and a uniform rule for gender of nouns.

Yuma, Arizona. LESTER B. WOOLEVER.

* * *

Second Chance

Unless the United States takes advantage of this, its second chance in a generation, it means the crack-up of our future civilization. We could no longer expect to hold the respect of mankind anywhere. ROLLIN L. MCNITT.

Los Angeles, California.

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The Promise Of San Francisco

By

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

WHEN the delegates take their places at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco on April 25, they will do so with the earnest determination that the peace for which the nations represented there are so valiantly fighting shall endure through the years to come—a just and lasting peace. For we are living today in a world that is sick of war, in a world tired of conflict and violence and suffering, in a world that longs for the security of freedom.

Yet out of the present war we have learned vital lessons. Nations have begun to understand the true meaning of the oneness of the world. They have learned that they are not separate entities, sufficient unto themselves. In fighting a world-wide war the fact has been brought home to them that peace must also be world-wide. Through cooperation for victory in war, nations have learned that peace, too, can only be attained by working and planning together.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are a great step in the direction of our common goal. Our Government believes that they form a practical, workable plan for setting up a great international organization for peace and security. The Proposals are not the result of one nation's thought and planning. They represent mutual agreement between official representatives of the four United Nations which sponsored the Conference. For months now they have been before the governments and people of all the United Nations for study and discussion.

This is the promise of San Francisco: That free nations of the world shall plan together in harmony for their mutual good. That their collective will for peace and security shall evolve into collective agreement upon the means that may be employed to attain these ends. That the Charter to be drawn up for a great international organization shall lay the foundation for a future world of nations that shall be free from the fear of aggression, and free to work together to promote the cause of human rights and human welfare.

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In Memoriam

Something is on its way on a slow train from Georgia to the capital. The body of an American President is going home . . .

A newspaperman's body joins a pile of corpses at Ie Jima. At a factory bench, a tool-maker, far beyond the normal age of work, is missed. Somewhere this side of Leipzig, a first lieutenant lies beneath a tree, smiling at what we'll never know. And something is on its way from Georgia on a long slow train . . .

On the twelfth day of April, in the sixth year of the second World War, some thousands of Americans died in battle. Their rank was various as their names, as several as their lives. Their cause acknowledges equality. Living, they worked or fought together; dying, they are one.

Death is the most irrelevant thing we recognize. It hasn't anything to do with the matter at hand, which is the business, sometimes the profession, and occasionally the art of living. Death changes the subject.

We say of this man who was our President that he died a hero. What we mean is that he lived even his last moments purposefully, that he forgot, or put the proper value on that ultimate irrelevancy waiting for the inhabited body of every human creature. Death never stops that kind of life, for it is life itself.

Something is on its way north out of the capital, but Franklin Roosevelt never left your home.

Grief for the mortal passing of the thirty-first President of your republic embraces all who died with him, or died before, and everyone of those who, in his cause, will die tomorrow. How else can we speak about this man we loved and whom we share with history? We cannot take his measure as a hero in the American story. We cannot list the efforts of his life; we would not dare to put a value on its high accomplishment. He has no need for homage, we who loved him no time for tears.

Our fighting sons and brothers cannot pause to mark the death of him whose name will be given to the age we live in. What of us here at home who know the guilty ache of helplessness? Our nation's greatness is renewed each day of battle, but we who breathe so easily behind the lines cannot dismiss a large embarrassment of spirit. In the absolute safety of civilian life, we hang our heads before the huge and simple dignity of man restated in the streets of London and on the barricades at Stalingrad.

The responsibility of freedom calls for mighty strength, for an immense capacity to dare and persevere. These things are theirs in full measure, who, in the name of freedom, have survived the hell of freedom's war. We envy the size of what has been awakened in the soul of Britain by the fact of bombs. We are jealous of what has grown so great in China, out of the reality of total war.

Our trial comes late; we meet it with this comfort. In all our history we have yet to fail. There was Pearl Harbor.—We heard and acted. Now our greatest soldier has fallen in the service of our greatest fight. What is the cost of that loss? It cannot be counted. On April twelfth as on December seventh of another year, we did not stop to count it.

As mankind grieves for our late President, a mankind looks to us who gave him to the world. We will not fail. This black time is ours. It is a time of proof.

A dear memento moves on a slow train out of Georgia, is carried through the capital, is packed away in the good earth that Franklin Roosevelt so dearly loved. The people do it reverence, the lifeless relic of their living history. Their sorrow celebrates what gave it meaning. What is that mystery but the truth he stood for? We dare not lag behind that truth.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt needs everything you have to give him but your tears. We must move on beyond mere death to the free world which was the hope and labor of his life.

ORSON WELLES

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EDITORIALS

The Building of the World of Tomorrow

HERE it is at last—that miraculous conference of the United Nations which only a few years ago was no more than a beautiful dream in the midst of death and despair. Here they are, the delegates of countries which only months or years ago were threatened in their very existence, or were living under the yoke of the most cruel conqueror in history.

The conference does not start with a sense of triumph, despite victory near at hand. There is no exuberant gayety, first of all because men of the United Nations are still dying on all battlefields. There is no triumph, because the enemy has achieved partially his objectives. He has destroyed a great part of the world. A thousand memories of tortures and destruction, of concentration camps, the memories of past failures—Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia—will be ever present in the halls of the conference. If we are to judge by the things told us by the delegates from the various countries while in Washington and New York on their way to San Francisco, the conference will be a grave and serious one, conscious of its historic responsibility, conscious of the hopes humanity has placed on it, conscious of the effect it will have upon the lives of every person on our earth.

It will be a working conference, in the truest sense of the word. There will be few speeches in the old League and pre-League style, but there will be a great many serious discussions on the political reorientation of our world.

First, the conference will have to try to get rid of certain mental attitudes and habits which have penetrated our world during the era of fascism—the contempt for the human personality, national, religious or racial discriminations, the absolute selfishness of every nation, economic autarchy whatever the phrases to cover it up may be, and, last but not least, refusal to act when the other fellow is in danger or attacked. Without this political reorientation, the constitution or covenant that will come out of the San Francisco Conference will be merely a piece of paper and will last only until such time as a group of powers may feel itself strong enough to plunge humanity into a new world war.

Second, the conference will have to put an end, in a very decisive manner, to the era of suspicion and intrigues which has poisoned Europe and the world, particularly in the last quarter of a century. In a world in which the proportion of strength between the big, middle and small powers has been so radically altered, only an element of confidence in unprecedented strength emerging from the conference can permit the building of a true international organization.

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Third, all the United Nations will have to familiarize themselves with the idea that for a transitory period the main security decisions will lie with the big powers, and that the peace of the world will depend to a great extent upon them. The smaller powers will find many compensations in other fields outside of security proper in which, after all, even in prewar times, their military strength was more illusory than real, more impressive for national parades than for effective resistance. They will find in the activities of the new Assembly of the United Nations, and particularly in the social and economic council, in the cultural and intellectual domains, an unlimited field of activities in which the really constructive tasks of humanity will have to be fulfilled.

The conference will most probably succeed in achieving the basic concept of a permanent world organization, of its structure and functioning. We hope that in building the political structure of the new organization the powers represented in San Francisco will remember that the sense of participation is one of the strongest motives in human lives. If the assemblies and various councils have been built in such a way that each nation can in a given field make its contribution to the world community as a whole, then the new setup will be alive, it will benefit by a constant stream of new suggestions and ideas, it will be helped by that part of universal genius which lies in every people.

In discussing the main functions of the Secretariat, we hope the lessons of Geneva will be taken into account and that the member states will realize that the Secretariat must be not only an organ of the governments of the United Nations, but that it must be at the same time a liaison element with public opinion. The Secretariat will be, in the eyes of public opinion, the permanent image of the United Nations organization itself. The men composing it must be men of the highest democratic ideals. They must be free of any one of the reactionary complexes; they must not be anti-American, anti-Russian, anti-British, anti-Semitic, etc. The only anti they must profess is anti-fascism. The Secretariat and the men leading it must be world-minded, they must be firmly anchored in the new progressive currents which are sweeping the world, and this applies to the various departments which will have to deal with health, transit, information, statistics, economics and intellectual cooperation.

The main task of the new world concept will be to provide for an economic counterpart to the political and military United Nations organization. Paradoxically enough, all the United Nations have made rapid progress during this war toward the acceptance of the political and military requirements of world organization, but they are much slower in their acceptance of economic prerequisites. A world economic policy based on international cooperation must start with the assumption that economic depression in any country is a threat to the security of all in the same way that all are threatened by an aggression to any member of the United Nations.

LOUIS DOLIVET

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The Fourth Free World Congress

AS our readers will remember, the Fourth Free World Congress was scheduled to be held in Washington on April 18 and 19. The purpose of the Congress was to have representatives from different countries meet and discuss the ways and means of mobilizing world public opinion for the United Nations, as well as a deepening and extension of democratic principles for which this war has been fought.

President Roosevelt had sent us, on March 3, a message, published in our April issue, which we will never forget. We requote part of it. The first line takes on tragic significance in view of his death. The President wrote:

> "April will be a critical month in the history of human freedom. It will see the meeting in San Francisco of a great conference of the United Nations—the nations united in this war against tyranny and militarism. At that conference, the peoples of the world will decide, through their representatives and in response to their will, whether or not the best hope for peace the world has ever had will be realized. Discussions by the people of this country, and by the peoples of the freedom-loving world, of the proposals which will be considered at San Francisco, are necessary, are indeed essential, if the purpose of the people to make peace and to keep peace is to be expressed in action."

Messages just received from Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Chiang Kai-shek appear on the next page. Other messages from United Nations leaders are enroute but did not arrive in time for this issue.

While delegates from many countries were arriving for our Congress, and while we were discussing with them the lessons of our failure after the last war to establish permanent peace, the news of the death of the President arrived.

Of course the Congress was immediately postponed and will be held during the San Francisco Conference or immediately after. We will keep our readers informed on the day-to-day proceedings, and we repeat our invitation to them to be participants by mail and send us observations and suggestions.

The agenda will deal with the following topics:

1. Mobilization of worldwide support for the United Nations organization;
2. Adoption of an international bill of human rights;
3. Strengthening of democratic forces all over the world;
4. Educational activities;
5. Outlawing of fascism.

Letters should be addressed to FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker St., New York 12, N. Y., or to Myles Standish, Executive Director, Free World Congress, 1710 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

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Messages To The Fourth

Free World Congress

I AM GLAD TO KNOW THAT YOU, WHO BELIEVE IN FREEDOM, ARE UNITING TOGETHER TO WORK FOR THAT CAUSE, WHILE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE DRAWING UP A CHARTER TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF AGGRESSIVE WARS. THIS WAR HAS SHOWN THAT FREEDOM DEPENDS UPON THE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE COMBINING TOGETHER IN DEFENSE OF THEIR LIBERTIES. THE BRITISH NATION, NOW IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF ITS WAR FOR FREEDOM, IS DETERMINED TO PROSECUTE IT TO THE END, IN THE WEST AND EAST, UNTIL TYRANNIES, AGAINST WHICH WE HAVE STRUGGLED, ARE EXTIRPATED. WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF A WORLD WHERE FREE SPEECH, THOUGHT AND ENTERPRISE CAN FLOURISH.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

THE CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH WILL SOON TAKE PLACE IN SAN FRANCISCO IS AN IMPORTANT TURNING POINT IN HUMAN HISTORY. UPON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS PURPOSE, THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON LAW AND JUSTICE, DEPENDS THE REALIZATION OF A LASTING PEACE FOR WHICH MEN HAVE BEEN PRAYING, PLANNING AND DYING. I CONSIDER THAT ALL DELEGATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE CARRY A SOLEMN MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE TO COOPERATE TO THE FULLEST EXTENT FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE HIGH IDEALS OF THE DEMOCRACIES. IN THE MEANTIME I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT FRANK AND CANDID DISCUSSION BY THOSE WHO HAVE AN INTELLIGENT INTEREST IN WORLD AFFAIRS, SUCH AS WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS CONVENED BY THE "FREE WORLD," WILL BE CONDUCIVE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

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Roosevelt

By THOMAS MANN

ROOSEVELT: He had the amiability, the winning charm of Caesar. He also had Caesar's good fortune. His very greatness had much in common with that of the Roman.

Like Caesar he was an aristocrat, a child of wealth—and a friend of the people, the champion of the common man. And as Caesar expanded the Roman idea into a concept of universal citizenship that prepared the way for Christianity as a world religion, so Roosevelt envisioned the unfolding of occidental culture into a world civilization in an atmosphere of religious and social humanitarianism to which his heart was dedicated. On his lips the word "religion" had no confessional but rather a universal meaning.

Wise as the serpent, and without guile as the dove, sensitive and strong, highly strung and simple as genius, inspired with an intuitive knowledge of the needs of the times and the will of the spirit of the age—including the knowledge that he is the happiest who most courageously, obediently, tenaciously and flexibly serves that will—the very man of "faith" of whom Goethe says that "In an ever increasing measure he must at times advance boldly, at times resign himself in patience so that the good may live, grow and flourish . . ." it is thus that I see him, thus I knew him, admired and loved him and I was proud to become a *civis Romanus* under his aegis.

The first time I was permitted to spend a few hours in his presence I was still deeply affected by the recent shock of emigration, of exile, of the loss of home and by the impression of the callously inquisitive indifference of the world. We fugitives from Hitler's Germany, even when as individuals we were received with honors, found little understanding in the countries in which we sought refuge. No one could or would believe what we had experienced, what we foresaw, what we were trying to warn against. A sort of self-protective instinct prevented the world from understanding. But here was a man—the first one—who understood everything, knew everything, saw everything, a man for whom the words we spoke were not mere empty sounds, because the world civil war that raged about us was a real and living fact to him and this man happened to be the most powerful man on earth.

These are things one never forgets. Unending gratitude results from such a strengthening, consoling, reassuring experience. I have heard Roosevelt called a "politician," a "shrewd politician." Well so he was; a born adept at politics. Politics has been called the "art of the possible"; and it is in fact a realm akin to art in so far as like art it assumes a creatively mediating place between the spirit and life, between the idea and reality, the desirable and the essential, conscience and action, morality and power. A mercurial nature capable of skilled and cheerfully artful compromise, of concessions to reality in order to achieve ideal ends, he appeared to have no conscious relation to any of the fine arts, literature, music or painting but at the same time he was a figure of great esthetic charm.

A shrewd politician? And what else would he have been? An intellectual? That would scarcely have been enough. A man of action is no intellectual except in the widest sense in which the good and the just coincide with the spiritual. A man of good action, it was fortunate for us that

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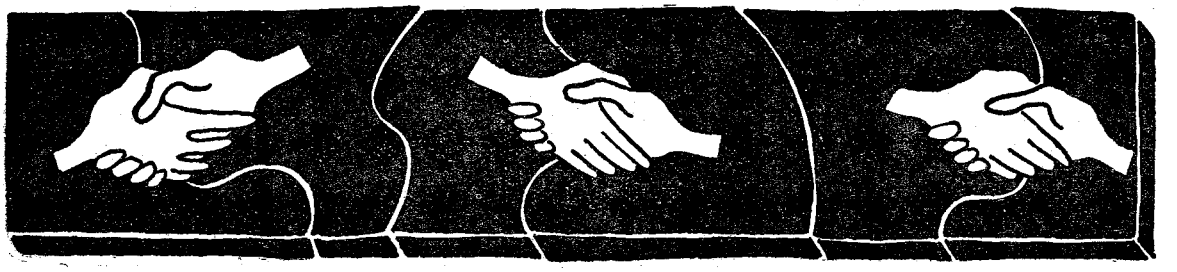
there was such a thing as energy stemming from goodness and dedicated to goodness. The times had shown us the man of will and of action in the form of the fascist dictator, the tamer of masses whose entire shrewdness and energy served only evil. In Franklin Roosevelt I always saw the born and conscious antagonist of the abysmally wicked. And at the same time abysmally stupid and world-blind satanism to which poor Germany had fallen prey and through which it had become a menace to the world. It was the salvation of democracy that it too proved itself capable of producing the man of action, the strong, tenacious and shrewd man who knew how to handle men, the great politician of good. It was the salvation not only of democracy but of mankind and its liberty.

An artist and a hero. Our hearts would have beaten for him with less veneration if the heroic, the defiance of fate, the surmounting of weakness, that which we call courage, had not been a part of his make-up. The disease that had not been able to kill him had nevertheless lamed him. His physical impediment brought a pathetic, a touching element into the splendor of this life. He could not walk, but he walked. He could not stand, but he stood—he stood in four political campaigns and used the golden voice with which nature had endowed him to plead for the privilege of completing his work.

Death proved more relentless than the democracy he served. Death took his work, his broadly conceived, his far-seeing work of humanity out of his hand—very gently, very tenderly, even death was his friend. A sudden headache, a motion of his hand toward his head and coma followed, and with it the end of all suffering. But it was the end and what an untimely end. The sunny, the favored and the melancholy unite to waken love in this death, in this heroic life. It was not his privilege to see the final victory and the peace of nations for whose realization he expended the full measure of his strength and wisdom and for which he died. Who cannot help but feel that the auspices of the San Francisco Conference would have been more favorable if he himself had opened it as he had planned to do?

AND yet we would have to be ashamed before him of our grief if we permitted it to degenerate into despondency. He was able to advance his work far enough so that it can now be completed without him. In his spirit he succeeded in winning his nation, the American people, for this work—a nation that only eighteen years ago had shown only the slightest inclination to join the League of Nations and which now, according to the most recent polls, has overwhelmingly renounced isolationism and is ready to participate in a world organization that will have the power to preserve peace. What a different picture will history paint of the fuehrers, the duces and the caudillos of the old continent in contrast with Roosevelt, who was able to advance the social education and maturity of his people so tremendously while these others did nothing but destroy liberty.

We, his contemporaries, have been doubly favored. We can conclude our lives with the knowledge that while wickedness will always maintain its place on this planet, yet the most vicious wickedness of all, Hitler's spirit and rule, was not tolerated but was swept out by united efforts. And we can die in the consciousness that we have seen a great man.



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Hope For Mankind

Looking at San Francisco, leaders of three great religious groups — Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish — here express their conviction that the structure of a lasting peace can be raised only on a foundation of respect for the dignity and rights of the human individual, and that men can build such a world of peace only if they are fortified by the power of an abiding faith.

I

The Peacemakers

By

MOST REV. JOHN J. CANTWELL

Archbishop of Los Angeles

SAN FRANCISCO will shortly add its name to the litany of conferences out of which our generation would build the framework of a peace. Time was when the structure of our world was built on the foundation of materialism and industrialism. We were guaranteed a Utopia of human happiness that had no room in it for the Almighty. It had its day and failed. Out of it grew intense nationalism and power politics. The inevitable child of the union was total war. It was the fruit of the combined genius of the human mind divorced from Almighty God. It has had its day, and now the world is in ashes around our feet, fetid with despondency and death. Everything is upside down. The concept of the Nation holds primacy of place. The individual is but a small factor in that mighty machinery, and the soul of man is counted hardly not at all.

Yet it is clear as daylight that this order must be reversed in all our ways of thinking. While the dignity and the rights of the individual will receive no recognition at a peace table, they still remain the alphabet from which a sentence of peace must be constructed. There must be primarily an existing order within the soul of man. His must be a house of order, where the law of God dominates and has control over the baser passions and weaknesses of a fallen nature. Once the individual is at peace, we have the cell, the core of a society at peace. In the scale of being, the family comes next. This too, must be in order—an order following on obedience to the will of God and a recognition of a primal unity within the family itself. Of

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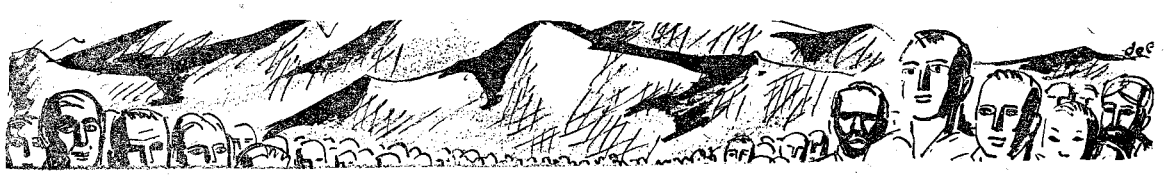
the families a community is born, and an ordered family will automatically produce an ordered community. The State is the association of those communities, and will derive its strength, its tranquillity, and its dignity from the groups of which it is made.

In season and out of season the Church has proclaimed from the housetops the requisites for a just peace. Conscious of her divine mission among the children of men, she has constantly enunciated the requisites, and laid out the blueprints for the future order of the world. He who runs may read. Therein you will find enunciated the necessity and assurance for all nations, great and small, of their rights to independence; the reasonable respect for the rights of all racial and religious minorities; the repudiation of war as an instrument of power politics; the establishment of a permanent international institution to guarantee the fulfillment of the peace conditions; progressive disarmament; the guarantee of the fundamental rights of every human person; proper standards of living for all citizens; the dignity of work and the rights of labor; the existence of obligations imposed upon nations as well as individuals toward society.

The Church has enunciated these principles, and millions of people throughout the world, upon whom the sorrows of war have laid a heavy cross, have united their voices in fervent prayer that those who are delegated to frame the peace will be guided from on High. It is a foregone conclusion that we cannot win the peace unless the God of Peace be with us. Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. We may obtain a cessation of hostilities, we may enter into an era of superficial tranquillity imposed by force or fatigue, but we shall never know peace with justice, until a merciful God is implored to take His place at the council chambers of the nations, and breathes His spirit over the assembly and says once again to the delegates thereof, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."



II

Global Welfare

BY

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

Bishop of the Methodist Church

ALL religious groups in this country are practically agreed upon one idea, namely that the divineness of any form of religion is judged by the humanness of its results. Upon this Roman Catholics, Jews and Protestants, united creeds, must face the test as to what happens to those who believe them, and so with every other feature of ecclesiastical institutions. If religious groups must face this challenge they have a right to insist that all other institutions on earth answer the same question: What do they contribute toward making the best possible chances for the human life at its highest and best? The family, the industrial system, the educational plans, and the state all must be approved or condemned by this human standard.

The primary question then for the re-

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ligious groups of our land, as they look toward San Francisco, is what is best for the men, women and children now on earth, and for those who are to come after them. All else is secondary.

The sovereignty of this or that nation is indeed important, but not most important. No one expects that the San Francisco delegates are to meet with a purpose of making inroads upon any national rights. But everyone in any religious body should expect that every delegate keep the welfare of all mankind uppermost in his mind. It may be that the first purpose to arise into the consciousness of any delegate will be that he is the delegate of his own nation, to guard that nation's interest. This is inevitable and indeed legitimate, but we pray that the sense of delegated authority may not stop there. The delegates are delegates of the whole human race. They are not advocates of particular nations but of all peoples that on earth do dwell. We have used the word "global," chiefly in speaking of war, so often that it has become trite. The word should be exalted at San Francisco to a new plane—to global peace, to global welfare, to global largeness and fineness of life.

A wise philosopher once remarked that the history of the human race has not yet begun, that the various forms of strife between nations have thus far thwarted genuine progress toward real humanity. The religious groups of the United States, because they virtually all stand for a universal religion, are under the heaviest obligation to hold the ideal of the highest and best for all men steadily before San Francisco and all the world in these critical hours.

III

Peace Through Righteousness

By

Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool
Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue,
New York City

THE Jewish people is one with all of freedom loving mankind in looking to the San Francisco Conference with high expectations. For the primary purpose of that Conference is to prepare a charter for the General Organization of the United Nations that will assure the maintenance of international peace and security. Today there can be no security and no peace for any people unless there be universal security and universal peace. Only when *all* nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares will they be free not to learn war any more. In the world of today security and peace can not be partial; they must be collective and universal.

Centuries ago the prophet Isaiah saw that peace was the work of righteousness, and security the effect of righteousness (Isaiah 32:17). If, therefore, the San Francisco Conference is to set up an auspicious framework for world peace, it must establish world standards of righteousness. This calls for an international bill of rights guaranteeing fundamental human rights and freedoms for all men of every race, color and creed. Such a universal covenant would outlaw all movements of racial and religious hatred. Oppression even within a nation's own borders is the concern of all mankind. An international bill of rights would outlaw such perversions of independent national sovereignty as permitted nazi Germany's diabolic liquidation of its Jewish citizens, while the world maintained with Germany normal diplomatic and so-

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cial relationships. It would substitute international conscience for insulated nationalistic unconcern with the actions of other nations.

From its world viewpoint, the San Francisco Conference must put an end to the cruel lot of statelessness to which so many victims of nationalistic inhumanity have been reduced. UNRRA has the blueprints for the repatriation of the helpless millions of dispossessed peoples, but unless the United Nations, meeting in San Francisco, give the safeguards and opportunity for carrying them into effect, these blueprints will die on paper and will be of no use to these driven and powerless people.

For his own people the Jew looks to the Conference to find the means of healing the intolerable homelessness of so many of the surviving remnants of Jewry. When the Conference takes up the question of mandates, the United Nations must open the doors of Palestine, Israel's historic homeland, and thereby make a reality of the repeated protestations and affirmations of the individual nations of the world as to the necessity of the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. This act of historic justice will achieve the fulfillment of the divine word as well as bring blessing to the whole of the Middle East.

May the San Francisco Conference create the beginnings of an organized humanity, speaking, acting, and feeling as one in human brotherhood and interests, transcending and controlling the right of any nation on earth to plunge mankind into open warfare or the latent wars of race and group injustices. May it have the wisdom and vision to build the foundations for the realization of that ancient Jewish prayer for the coming of the day when all mankind will become one fellowship to do God's will on earth.

A Paralyzed Dictatorship

Brazil today offers one of the most interesting condemnations of the dictatorship system. Here is Mr. Getulio Vargas—who has been President with absolute powers for a long time, who has exiled, imprisoned and otherwise persecuted his opponents, who has established a controlled press and radio system—who, at the end of his career must realize that a dictatorship is limited in time however strongly one wants to maintain it.

The Brazilian dictatorship is shattered by a sudden simultaneous outbreak of public opinion opposition to Vargas. It started with one newspaper publishing an interview with a general of the Brazilian army who attacked Vargas. The censor wanted to suppress it, but the general's many friends in the War Ministry insisted on its publication.

The next day another paper followed with an interview against Vargas, and within seven days, from one corner of the country to the other, almost every newspaper, large and small, asked for the re-establishment of democracy.

Another characteristic example was the case of our friend and prominent member of FREE WORLD, Dr. Octavio Mangabeira, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance of Brazil. He was exiled from Brazil and condemned to two years' imprisonment. Seven hundred Brazilian lawyers asked the Supreme Court to grant him a habeas corpus.

While these lines are being printed, Dr. Mangabeira, who for many years has been a refugee in New York, is flying back to Brazil to participate in the great political campaign which will make Brazil once more a democracy, according to the great traditions of that country.

Good luck, Dr. Mangabeira! We will always remember your last visit to the editorial offices of FREE WORLD before leaving, telling us you want to rebuild not only the old democracy of Brazil, but a better one—one in which human equality and dignity will be respected in every degree of society; that you are going to fight for the economic well-being of the country; that you will help spread democracy throughout South America stronger than ever; and that you will be fighting to make Brazil one of the pillars of the United Nations and world democracy.

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World Security

— *Not Peace Terms* —

Goal of San Francisco

By NORMAN ANGELL

BY the time these lines are in the hands of the reader, the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations will have begun its labors. Already some thousands of articles, speeches, broadcasts, predictions, warnings, explanations, and elucidations have appeared. With such a multitude of counselors there is likely to be confusion as well as, possibly, wisdom. This is particularly true when the subject matter has to deal with the often conflicting views of forty-one nations, each of the forty-one being in some degree divided within itself as to its purposes and policies.

Francis Bacon once said: "Truth comes more easily out of error, than out of confusion." How is the average busy layman to keep from becoming, in the circumstances of the San Francisco Conference, the victim of confusion to such a degree as to lose a sense of the main purpose of the gathering? And what, as a voter and a member of the court of final appeal, ought he to stand for in it all? We can hardly forget that at the close of the last war some of the best intentioned people in the world with a passionate desire to do everything possible to prevent a second world war, insisted on a line of policy which, far from preventing that second war, made it inevitable. Obviously there was confusion and misunderstanding, or the appalling result would not have been so completely at variance with the high intentions.

It will help a great deal to keep a sense of direction and proportion if, first of all, we understand what the Conference is not. It is not a peace conference—a conference for the settlement of peace terms with the enemy. At least there is no such proposal at the moment of writing. It is not going to settle frontiers or territorial readjustments, though it does propose to frame a plan for dealing with the colonies of the enemies. It does not propose to settle such things as the means of access to raw materials although it does propose to decide on the form of an Economic Council which can later deal with such problems. It will not settle the future of India or Burma or Malaya or Sumatra or Puerto Rico or the constitutional position of Estonia or Latvia or Ireland or the Panama Canal Zone, or Hong Kong or Malta, though a plan of trusteeship to replace the old Mandates Commission is likely to remain on the agenda.

But it may be asked, if its function is not to deal with that kind of problem what are forty-one nations, coming from the ends of the earth in war time, gathered together to discuss?

This Conference is gathered for the purpose over and above all else of achieving the aim which brought every one of the nations attending it into the war; the end for which the war has been fought. That purpose and aim and end is security, the means of making the nations secure from

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the perils of aggression and extinction. To devise the means of achieving that end is the main purpose. If it does not succeed in that, then none of the other subsidiary purposes, such as the creation of an economic council to deal with economic problems, or the statute of the world court, or the trustee plan for the enemy colonies and mandates, will have any value. It is no good endowing a nation with a long list of rights if its very right to existence is insecure. No man will really appreciate the promise to allow him to keep his money if it is clear that his life is to be taken. "Defense is more than opulence," according to Adam Smith. It comes first. With that aim achieved we shall be in a position to work out the other objectives.

World at Cross Purposes

THIS obvious truth is labored for the reason that much of our failure after the first World War was due to the fact that we persistently ignored it. We failed to put this first thing first. We entangled it with other purposes. We made it subservient, sometimes, to the issues of domestic politics and deemed it more important to defeat a rival political party at home than to achieve security for the nation from foreign aggression. We mixed it up with the vindication of political theories, such as the superiority of a Federation over a League, or vice versa. Confused it with the theory that we had to be sure that the status quo we proposed to guarantee was completely just. (There was never a completely just status quo in history and there never can be one.) Or we went on the theory that the real cause of war was capitalism, and that the first task was not to organize the security of capitalist states but to abolish capitalism. Another theory we held was that the cause was imperialism, so empires and colonies had to go; or we insisted—as a good many insist today—that the first purpose of the war was not security of the existing order but the creation of an entirely new order by revolutionary means. These and a hundred other theories crossed and complicated what should have been the first purpose. First because defense was and is the indispensable condition and instrument of the others.

If we had realized at the end of the last war what came first in the order of vital need, we would have been ready to travel by any road that opened. And if one had been blocked we could have taken others. For a variety of reasons, now all too familiar, the League road became blocked early. But another opened and was completely neglected. We cannot too often recall the case presented by France (largely through the mouth of Clemenceau) to the representatives of the United States and Britain when Germany was defeated in 1918.

Clemenceau pointed out that Britain and America had had to fight a great war on the soil of France because the defense of France was indispensable to that of the English speaking world. He pointed out that France would be attacked again and that the Anglo-Saxons would have to come to her aid unless both America and Britain clearly announced beforehand that in the future they would defend France. If that had been clear Germany would not attack; if it was in doubt, she would. It was pointed out repeatedly that only the United States and Britain could give an effective guarantee. What other nation was there to do it? Russia, who had just made a separate peace? Japan? China? Peace rested upon the common action of the English speaking nations guaranteeing France. Both Wilson and Lloyd George saw the point. The treaty of tripartite guarantees was drawn up. Wilson sent it to the Senate, the Senate to the Foreign Affairs Committee, and there it gently died.

The public did not manifest a penny's worth of interest in the matter. In Britain it is true, Robert Cecil and his colleagues devised the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and later the Labor Government conceived the Geneva Protocol, and the next government the Locarno Treaties. But the British public felt it a risky business to give the guarantees without assurance from the United States as to the position it would take. And much of the British public was irritated at the trend of French policy—a direction taken largely because it had no guarantees—and criticized the militarism of France, much as in America opinion was so often critical of Britain. The trouble was not absence of discussion of international

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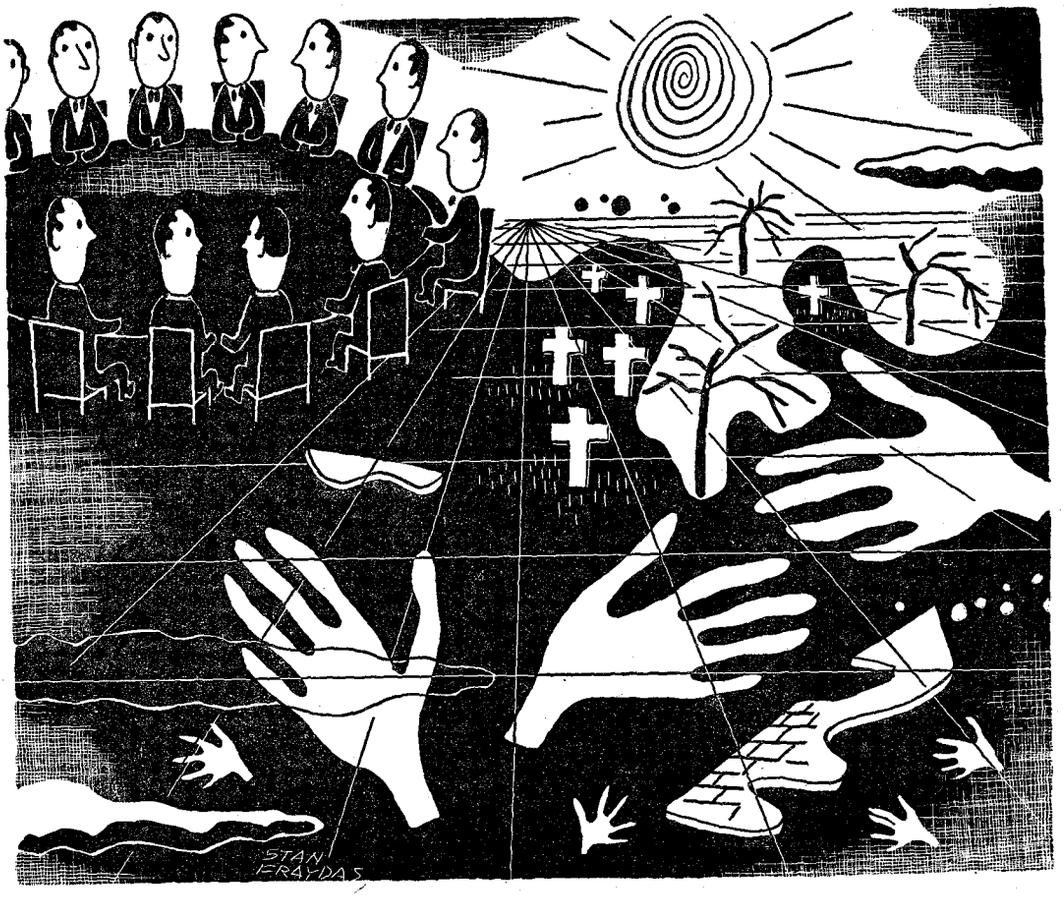

affairs, but that that discussion was so little relevant to the problem which the world then faced, still faces and should face at San Francisco.

And the complete meaning of Clemenceau's prophecy—that the way to prevent a second world war was to warn the aggressor that he would be met by the combined power of his prospective or potential victims—was obscured by excited debates on such matters as the militarism of France, the imperialism of Britain, debts, the separate voting of the Dominions, the intrigues of armament makers, and constitutional detail of such complexity that the main issue was lost in the fog and dust of debate.

Incidentally, the putting of security first does not mean that the issues of socialism or imperialism or democracy are unimportant but that we cannot deal with them while the basic problem remains unresolved. If the purely political problem of federation between the thirteen colonies had not been solved in the eighteenth century, and what is now the United States had become half a dozen nations, the economic problem of their hundred and thirty million inhabitants would not have been easier to solve, but even more difficult than it is now. If ever Europe becomes a federation, it will be by tackling the political problem first.

Power Need Not Be Evil

As the complexities of the San Francisco discussions increase, and claims and counter claims are presented, sometimes with bitterness, the main objective of it all should be kept clearly before us. The experience of the last war in this respect should be remembered. The "incidence of the issues" will not be precisely the same as on the last occasion, but the fundamental alternatives will be similar. There was much to be said against the Tripartite Guarantees, as against the League. But rejection of both made the second World War inevitable. Just as on the last occasion American association with Britain in the

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French guarantees immediately raised questions of British imperialism and French militarism, so now association with Russia in a security organization raises questions concerning the undemocratic character of the Russian Government. But it was not the powerful armies of the Russian dictator which were suddenly launched against the nations of Europe. It was the armies of Hitler, and it is the problem of aggressions like those of Hitler and Hirohito with which we are dealing. Similarly a good deal may be heard at San Francisco about colonialism, the future of India, and of Hong Kong.

But just as the war did not arise out of the character of Russian government, whatever our view of it, neither did it arise out of the character of the Indian government, whatever our view of it. First things first.

Power as such need not be evil. The preponderance of the United States on the Western Hemisphere has on the whole made for the defense of freedom and self government on this hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine did protect the Latin republics in their early and weaker stages from European aggression. It would not have served the ends of democracy if the United States had been weak and divided, if Lincoln had not been able to preserve the Union. It would not have helped democracy or freedom if the main power in the Mediterranean in 1940 had been German, or Italian, or Spanish instead of British; or if British naval power of the past had been too weak to preserve Australia as a base for MacArthur. In so far as that power helped to defend India from the degree of invasion which China has suffered, it has served the ends of freedom.

Let us, in the coming discussions of the San Francisco issues, face the fact of power as held by the United States, Russia, and Britain. Let us refrain from labeling power as wicked per se and do what we can to make it the instrument of security, peace and national freedom.

Count Clemens von Galen's Solution of Communism

According to a UP report of April 6, Count Clemens von Galen, Archbishop of Muenster, a critic of the Hitler régime but "loyal to the Fatherland," refused to discuss politics. He did, however, make a number of "non-political" statements.

Referring to the liberated millions of foreign slave workers within Germany, he qualified them all as "Russians," and accused them of having plundered German homes.

Still not talking politics, the Archbishop drew the attention of his interviewer to the dangers of communism, and had the effrontery to suggest that the only way to forestall it was not to let the Germans go hungry after the war.

Discreetly but clearly, Herr von Galen made the following statement about U. S.-Russian relations. Answering the question as to whether he believed German children could be made to forget nazi doctrines, he gave this reply: "Some, yes, and some no. It will depend on whether you (the Western Allies) let the Russians into Germany, and then we will have communism." This allusion clearly repeats the old Hitler-Goebbels suggestion of a little war between America and Russia.

The final piece of effrontery was voiced in the complaint of the aforementioned "anti-Nazi," that thus far no high-ranking American official had visited him.

We, too, think that a high-ranking American official should have indeed called upon him—with a warrant of arrest.

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Far And Wide, Plain People See A Vision Of Peace

These interviews with everyday men and women of many nations were obtained exclusively for FREE WORLD by outstanding journalists. They are deeply revealing of what the people of all nations have most surely in common: a faith in their common humanity and an urgent desire for a world organization through which they can successfully cooperate for peace.

John Sepel and the Peace, and the Way War Is

By RUSSELL BRINEY
Chief Editorial Writer for *The Louisville Courier-Journal*

A NEWSPAPER writer who is at all familiar with the mechanical processes which get what he has to say into print must sometimes wonder if he ever has anything to say worthy of such swift and beautiful precision. And this goes not only for the machines—the linotypes, the presses and all—but also, in more than one instance in any newspaper plant, for the marvelous and unobtrusive skill of men concerned. John A. Sepel is a make-up in *The Louisville Courier-Journal's* composing room. A make-up is a man who puts the type into the forms, which are the rectangular iron frames, from which each page is printed—a job far more demanding than it is made to sound in this simplification. John performs it with quiet perfection five nights a week. Thus it is a little hard to introduce him as a common man. He is, I suppose, a common man in the same sense that I am. But among artisans he is an aristocrat.

I had a reason, which will appear later, for believing he may have thought a good deal about this matter of peace. He said he guessed he had not thought more than most. He is a modest man, neither talkative nor opinionated, of slight and frail appearance, held in much affection and respect in the shop. It is his fancy to wear at work a soldier's overseas cap, which he decorates with a variety of military insignia, each a souvenir of some friend in the service.

John frankly is afraid that a permanent peace is not possible. He believes the peace will last longer than it did before, maybe much longer, for we have learned lessons from our failure the other time—notably our failure to march on into Berlin. He is interested sympathetically in the efforts to make the peace enduring such as the San Francisco conference, but even more so in repression of the German and Japanese will to war. "Police 'em, by God, police 'em," is his prescription.

His reason for thinking that another war may be inevitable is that Europe is, as he expresses it, "all muddled up." He refers to problems like those presented by the Polish boundary question, and he fears that such solutions of which human wisdom is now capable may only add new grudges to old.

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He pictures Europe as an area of irrepressible antagonisms, a powder keg which may be expected to explode again sooner or later—he hopes, later. He would not have the United States hold aloof from endeavors to prevent the explosion. He is just doubtful, that's all. He quite naturally, as you shall see, thinks of war largely in terms of Europe. He attaches much importance, as significant of evil, to the variety of languages and customs prevailing across the Atlantic, and when he read the other day that 150 different languages or dialects exist in Russia, he was simply appalled: He could not find much reassurance in the fact that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are at present at peace with each other.

The terms of the re-admission of Argentina to the American family of nations and of her admission to the San Francisco proceedings have deepened his skepticism lately. "I would have kicked Argentina in the pants," he said. "We don't need her. People could get beef in plenty of other places." This thing of dealing with a fascist government while fighting fascism is simply too much for him. If you're against something you ought to be against it wherever it is, in his opinion, particularly when you have the might, as we have now, to make your opposition effective. Any other way, he explained, you store up trouble for yourself. He laughed gently and ironically at the thought of "permanent peace" and such a way of going about getting it as this Argentina business. He asked me what I thought of it. I confessed it had me stumped, too, though I cautioned him against perfectionism.

John is 54 years old. He did not serve in the other war, having been rejected for physical disability. He is a Methodist (a night worker, he doesn't often get up to go to church) and a registered Independent (he voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1932, '36 and '40 but didn't vote at all in 1944). If one trait distinguishes him above another, it is the intensity of his devotion to his family. He was employed in Chicago at the time of his marriage more than a quarter of a century ago, but his wife was a Louisville girl and, when the arrival of her first baby drew near, she said she wanted to have it at home. John pulled up stakes and has lived in Louisville ever since. Three other babies came.

War's Meaning

AND that is why I knew war and peace meant something profoundly poignant to John. For that first baby, Johnny, who had grown to be 25, and the last one, William, who was 19 were killed in action within ten days of each other in France last August. The two girls in between—Gertrude, 24, who is married, and Ramah, 22—are left to John and his wife, Leora. Johnny had worked in the same newspaper plant as his father, in the mail room. William had been the pride and joy of the whole family, the special pal and pet of his mother. He had been the first of the children to seek a college education, the others having been content with high school diplomas. William had graduated from high school second in his class and had become a pre-medical student at the municipal university.

John bore up as bravely as a man could. When I tried to express my sympathy at the time, he said only: "That's the way war is." He has told me later that the deaths of his sons numbed him with bitterness—bitterness that it had to happen at all, bitterness that it had to happen to both of his boys, bitterness that it had to happen to William, really just a baby still and so promising. He says the bitterness is passing now. But something in the shadow of his sorrow tells John this will be a mighty sad and imperfect world for a long, long time to come. I hope he is wrong and so does he.

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An Iowa Farmer Talks Of Ending Wars

By

FORREST SEYMOUR
Associate Editor of the
Des Moines *Register and Tribune*

"YES, there is a place for tenderness and patience," Lewis Morris, Jr. was saying, "but the world has got to the point where the nations with so large a share of the responsibility have to get tough. If they don't there will be nobody to lead in the right direction."

It was obvious that the peril of a new imperialism held not half so many terrors for this Iowa "dirt farmer" as did the possibility that the world would again fail to get organized for orderly management of its vital affairs.

"We just can't risk it. Modern war is too terrible. And there's no sense in it. If some of the selfish groups in the world try to get special advantages at the expense of others, then we'll just have to walk over them. Yes, using force if necessary. Anarchy is the worst evil; we've got to have effective government."

I shall not say that Mr. Morris is a "typical" midwestern farmer. He is a college graduate, and his farming is largely mechanized. But he worked his way through the state agricultural college, spent a few years as an ordinary farmhand, saved his money, and rented enough land and building to take on a dairy herd. Now he has spread out on 150 acres, a little less than the average Iowa farm, and he belongs to the representative farmers' organizations—Farm Bureau, a dairy co-op, and so on.

I went to him because he is a thoughtful man. That is what is important here. He reads the newspapers; he reads magazines; he reads the state college bulletins; he reads books. He knows "what goes on" in the world. And he knows what aggression against Poland or Manchuria means, in an interdependent world, to the stability of his farm operations and the security of his family.

"At bottom," Farmer Morris went on, "the chief problems are economic. People are pretty much the same everywhere. They want decent standards of living. They don't want to be hungry. They don't want to be sick. They don't want to be kicked around.

"But they are at the mercy of men who are shrewder than they are. There are pressure groups everywhere, domestic and international. And these groups have got to be made to take the responsibility for their behavior."

We had got off momentarily on Bretton Woods.

"The trouble is, these folks who are against cooperation because the *method* isn't exactly to their liking never have to pay the penalty if the whole thing fails. And we get more chaos instead of peace. Somebody else pays. That's why we ought to get tough.

"Of course nothing we do is likely to be absolutely perfect. But we've just got to get started in the right direction. Even a faulty agreement is a lot better than no agreement at all.

"Take Dumbarton Oaks. The big powers did sit down together. That would have been a great achievement in itself, if they hadn't got half as far along as they did. But they did find compromises on all the important things. And now all the United Nations are going to discuss the problem together. The battle's half won

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right there. Only half a victory isn't enough, now. It can be clinched. And if it takes some tough talk to clinch it, then let's use it."

Mr. Morris insisted that he did not mean, by this, that we should be arrogant in the use of our power. We must be willing, he said, to be as generous as we ask anyone else to be. But we must not permit obstreperous little groups to divert us from the principle of organized, enforceable rules.

Guns Alone Can't Keep Peace

"THE big powers can keep the peace for a while by the sheer weight of their military power," Mr. Morris continued. "I don't care how badly they crush Germany and Japan. That's probably a cruel thing to say, but where there's a dangerous poison you've got to do drastic things.

"In the long run, it's the smooth working of all the little pieces of the world's machinery that will make peace possible. That's why it's so important that something concrete and mutually helpful comes out of San Francisco. The little nations have got to feel that they have something enormous to gain out of joining in. They've got to feel that their people are going to be better off—not just that they're going to be protected from Germany, but that they're going to be able to produce goods, and sell them, and improve their condition of life.

"The things that a United Nations organization will have to do, in the fields of trade and social conditions, are at least as important to peace as the prevention of aggression by the major powers.

"Oh, this is our big opportunity, all right. Surely nobody who could foresee the results of his conduct would assume the awful responsibility of wrecking the world's hope now—"

We had talked a long while, but this is a fair summary of his ideas.

And while Farmer Morris, to be sure, is a good deal more articulate on this subject than most, that pretty well sums up what is in the hearts of several million Corn Belt people these days.

Men in Many Parts of China Ask a World Order That Works

By

HUBERT WANG
Chinese War Correspondent

By Cable from Chungking

I was talking with a police inspector of Liaoning. He was a man of thirty, tall, intelligent, reserved but hopeful, the type of citizen China is producing in large numbers in wartime, peace-loving but able to withstand any and all of the privations and strains of war.

"Nothing could ever eradicate the love of peace from Chinese hearts," he said—"Not even a war that lasted for a century. The more we see of war, the more we are convinced that it must be removed from the world. People think about these things in China. They think about them right here in Liaoning. You might be surprised, but there are others like myself here who are looking to San Francisco with a hope and desire to see a powerful democratic and efficient international organization emerge, one that is capable of guaranteeing eternal peace."

The police inspector was silent for a while and then he said: "Of course it isn't so surprising that we should be thinking

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such things here. If the League of Nations had worked well, our province probably would have been saved instead of going through all that it has.

"When the enemy invaded Liaoning fifteen years ago, we all thought the League would intervene. Nothing of the sort happened. I am convinced the League wanted to stop the Japanese, but it was just too weak to do so. This time we must have a world organization that works."

I asked the inspector how he thought that could be done. He said for one thing it was his opinion that there should be a strong world court, and that the United Nations must organize a powerful international army to act as a police force and to disarm any nation which violated international order.

A twenty-four-year-old Chinese soldier had been listening to our conversation and he interrupted at this point to lend his support to the police inspector's ideas. Private Wang Ming-Sheh fought in the battle of Changteh. He recounted to us some of his experiences on the Hunan front. He had seen how the Japanese had violated Chinese women, burned their houses, murdered their children.

"Soft methods will never change the behavior of such brutal beasts," he said. "The only thing for us to do is to destroy them."

In Chungking as in Liaoning, I found the plain people thinking deeply about a future world organization and the need of a united front among the nations to maintain peace.

Li Ming-Tze, forty-year-old clerk, of the *New Szechwan Daily,* said to me: "The League of Nations was bound to fail because at the very outset America and Russia were left out and the big powers in it secretly desired to expand their influence. In the new world organization small nations should stand on an equal footing with the bigger ones. All the big powers must be in the organization, but they must abandon power politics."

"That's true," one of Li Ming-Tze's comrades agreed with him. "If the United Nations mean what they say in the Atlantic Charter about equality of nations, now is the time for them to carry out their promises."

PUPILS in Chungking's Municipal Middle School have had many heated discussions recently about the best setup for the new organization. Pen Ti-Li, forty-five year old teacher of history, summed up some of their conclusions by saying, "The voting system as adopted in the old League must be improved. Practically speaking the League could reach no decision without the agreement of the whole assembly. Such a plan of agreement would never do. Take Japan, for instance. If she attacks China, would she support the proposal to punish herself?"

Some in China are mainly concerned with what the new world organization will mean to them. Merchant Tang Tin-Wen, a Fukienman, belongs to this class. About twenty years ago he sailed to a foreign country intending to do some importing business there. He had already reached that country but was "sent back because of racial discrimination."

"The world leaders have promised to give much freedom to us. I wonder whether they will allow our merchants to do a reasonable amount of business in their countries."

Tang also suggested that the new world organization should allow people to travel freely from one place to another because that is the best way to promote international understanding. He said that before he went to the south seas in 1933 he had been suspicious of foreigners. "After I lived with them and learned their national traits,

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I found they are just like us in every respect," he said.

Of course the old people in China who have gone through two world wars are more skeptical than the young are about the possibilities of achievement through the new world organization. In Shantung I had a long talk with white-haired Chang Ming-Teng. Two wars had deprived him of two sons. When the first World War broke up, his elder son went to Europe as a Chinese laborer and never returned. At the start of this war his second son was recruited and later was killed in the battle of Tierchwang.

The old man shook his head sadly. "It seems to me," he said, "that the main trouble with the world lies in the fact that men are instinctively fond of fighting and killing one another. I doubt whether the new organization can do more than the League unless it expends a great deal more effort on the moral reformation of the world."

World Order—As China's Women See It

By

ADA YING

Chinese Journalist

By Cable from Chungking

"EXTERMINATE the nazi terrorists and Japan's warlords as soon as the war is over," says Miss Shih Chu-Ying, thirty-five, a primary school graduate and accountant of the war area women's sewing shop. "But let the Japanese and German people take part in the world peace organization. They are innocent and should not be blamed for this war."

At the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war, Miss Shih was evacuated from Liaoning province to Chungking. She opened a workshop in 1939 with sixteen housewives from other war areas. She is alone now. Her husband, a bank clerk, died during the early period of the war.

She and many others think that all the people in the world should take part in the forthcoming world organization for peace —and this includes citizens of Japan and Germany as well as people from the Allied nations. Representation, she claims, should be made according to the size of population instead of each nation being a unit, so that the world organization can represent the largest majority and not be dominated by a few leaders.

Mrs. Chang Lung, fifty-six, housewife for thirty-four years and mother of three college graduates, clenches her fists and says, "Let the world organization see to it that no scientist shall invent any more weapons that kill." She is from Nanking and her first son, Chang Liang-Chuen, a Middle School teacher, was killed by an incendiary bomb during a raid on Chungking in 1940.

A different stand was taken by Miss Cheng Kung-Chuen, twenty-three, who insisted, "I am for the absolute disarmament of all nations. The world organization should possess a military force stronger than that of any of the nations." Miss Cheng comes from Szechwan province, is a former student of the National Normal College for Women, and is now one of the women volunteers in the Youth Army.

Many, like these two, favor the adoption of the disarmament policy so that there will not be any chance for war in the future. But the average woman in China thinks it is highly important that the world organization for peace should work in a positive way instead of in a negative way. It should eliminate war by improving the living conditions of all peoples and set up an international education system to give the next generation a uniform education for peace.

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Common Man Needed at San Francisco

By

MARY SEATON

Free World's London Correspondent

By Cable from London

COL. JARRETT KERR, white-haired, red-faced, retired from the Indian Army, is a leader of progressive thought in Cheltenham, a sedate country town recognized for generations as a retiring place for Pukkah Sahibs and the elite. It has always been extremely conservative, but war invasion evacuees and war workers have loosened local control of its diehards.

Colonel Jarrett Kerr went to India before the last war and always took a keen interest in the welfare of the Indian peoples. For this reason he is known as Cheltenham's Red Colonel and is ostracized by other colonels and generals for pro-worker views. Recently he helped organize a public meeting in the town hall for Sir Richard Acland, Common Wealth leader whose pronounced anti-conservative speeches aroused much opposition among the aristocrat and privileged class into which he was born. To Jarrett Kerr's amazement several of the colonels and generals who previously refused to countenance him were present at the meeting.

Jarrett Kerr can be regarded as symbolic of members of England's privileged upper-middle class who are now beginning to think in terms of the common man. Of San Francisco he says:

"What can be expected from old leaders who are still thinking in terms of national boundaries to be defended in the last resort by national armed forces? The American Constitutional Convention of 1787 succeeded because delegates representing twelve of thirteen states were willing to surrender much of their sovereignty. But San Francisco delegates are still concerned mainly with personal power, prestige and national security. Another drawback is the distance between them and the common man. It was, for instance, the unknown men with no prestige to lose who formed the backbone of the Resistance movement in Europe and it is a great pity that more of their type are not present at San Francisco."

At the other end of the country, in much-blitzed Hull, are Joan and Ron Peck, aged twenty-five and twenty-seven. They have been married for five years and have just got their first home—the first factory-made house to be erected in their town. Ron is a tank driver home on leave from Germany. He said:

"A lot of us feel it is a pity that young people and ordinary workers and service men won't be at San Francisco. Take this country, for instance. Our government is no longer representative. It was elected ten years ago, partly on issues which have now been proved false and wrong, and the only big change since then has been the substituting of Churchill for Chamberlain.

"There are seven million of us between twenty-one and thirty who are fighting and working in this war and who have never voted. Well, it may not sound practical but we reckon we ought to have some say in what's happening. How? Ask me another."

He spread his hands helplessly, adding, "I know the majority is not interested in world politics, but that is a bad thing. We shall never get world peace until ordinary people make it their direct responsibility to understand what is being done in their name."

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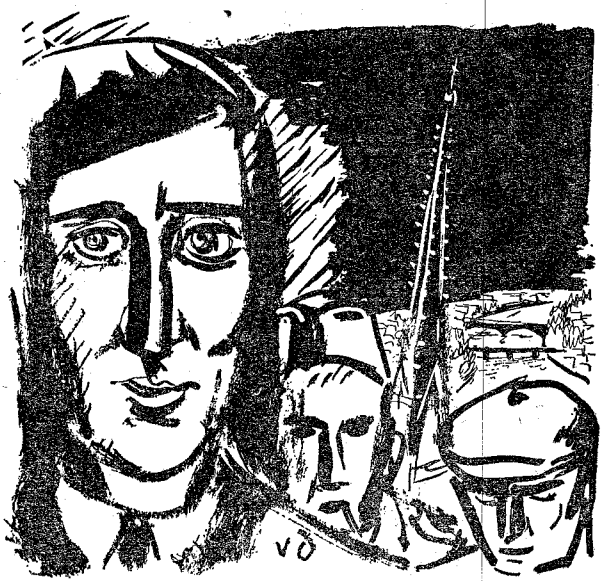
United In Peace As In War

By
H. L.

Paris Correspondent

By Cable from Paris



MLLE. SOLANGE CORNU is one of the busiest and most worried persons in Paris. She is a secretary of one of the government departments. Because she is skilled and has a typewriter, people not only from her own department but many from others make heavy demands upon her time.

The salary she makes is insufficient to do more than buy food and pay the rent and a few doctor bills.

She is also worried about marriage. Before the war she had a friend who left for the Army before they were engaged. He is now a prisoner in Germany and she has had no news from him for a long time.

Finally she is worried because she still is unable to see how the country and the world can be rebuilt. Personally, she is without any particular opinion but she hates, with almost fanatical fervor, every collaborationist. "Those cochons, who associated with our enemies, who dined and danced and laughed while our people were dying. Oh, how I hate them! But the most terrible thing is they are so brazen, and whisper in our ears that it was all the fault of Britain, Russia and America!"

Yes, Miss Cornu has heard about the San Francisco Conference. She thinks it will be a very important conference. But her first statement about it was, "Well, I hope they will at last reckon with the Germans and all the fascists." When we explained to her that the San Francisco Conference will not deal with specific boundaries and other such problems which will be settled by the big Allies, she was only half satisfied. To her, the whole thing is one.

"What would you fight for if you were a delegate at San Francisco?" we asked.

She smiled, and at first stated that she would not be a very good delegate because she knows so little. But when we pressed her, she said:

"Well, I guess the first thing I would fight for is to make sure that it will never happen again."

"What will never happen again?"

"Never again war, and never tolerance of such horrible governments as those of Hitler and Mussolini."

"What do you mean by 'never again war'? Do you mean you would refuse to fight under any circumstances? . . ."

"Oh no," she interrupted, "I think we started too late to fight Germany. We should have started in 1933. What I mean is that we must guarantee the security and independence of any nation on earth, and that any country that attacks would be exposed and would have the rest of the world ranged against it, so that no country would dare to do such a thing."

"What else?"

"Well, rebuild the houses, factories, cities and towns that have been destroyed. But this must be done in common, in the same way that we fought this war together. Every human being must be guaranteed a decent minimum so that he does not risk starving —and facilitate travel—in one word, make our world a little bit happy.

"Oh, it's 2:00 o'clock already. I must run." With which she gets up from the table, shakes hands and gracefully walks out. But at the door she turns back and says smilingly: "Maybe the slogan of Resistance is still the best! 'United in peace as in war.'"

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A Red Army Fighter's Letter On War And Peace

By

DMITRI NOVIKOV

I AM here at a rest camp for a short time, expecting soon to return to the front. During my enforced idleness I have had time to do a little thinking about the war, and about the years to follow after the war is won. After the victory I shall go back to Kharkov to my job as a mechanical engineer. There's going to be plenty to do there, for our city was almost destroyed by the Germans. I stopped over there for two days on my way to the rest camp. Nadia is working in a munition plant. I thought she looked thin and drawn, but she denied it. She insisted the war had taught her to discover new strength in herself, in spite of her grief over our little Grisha. He strayed away from her during the evacuation of our city. We still hope that he will be located.

Nadia talked to me a great deal while I was there about how hard we'd have to work after the war, if we want to resume our march toward a better future.

But what are we working for? And what am I fighting for? I kept thinking. I hadn't thought about it at all in the heat of fighting. I just hated. I hated those who were trying to take over my country. But now that I'm here at the rest camp and our armies are at last victoriously fighting on German soil, I have begun to think a great deal about what the future will be like.

I traveled over a great deal of territory on my way back from the front. The devastation is so much greater than people in other countries can realize. How fortunate indeed are the people who have not felt war on their own soil.

But as Nadia says, peace, like war, isn't going to be easy. There will be a lot of obstacles ahead, not only in rebuilding our country and the other countries that have been trodden under foot by the Germans, but in cementing the foundations of a world security.

The more I think of it, the more it seems to me that we must be realistic in our dealings with the Germans. They tell me there are trends in the Allied countries toward asking for the punishment of only a relatively small group of leading Nazis. My idea is different. The terrible thing is that the overwhelming majority of them tolerated the crimes their government ordered. I don't see myself how the punishment of a small nazi ruling clique can redeem the whole German people. We can only wipe the barbarism out of German hearts and stop them from starting new wars by making them realize exactly where war making has led them. For this, it seems to me, you have to have some method that is felt by the whole German people and I can't think of anything better than insisting that they contribute their labor to reconstruct the lands they have devastated.

Nadia is right that none of us will wish to rest after this war. I keep thinking that our country is so rich, her possibilities so unlimited, that if we are granted a lasting peace, we will be able to show the world the great strides we can make.

This is why I so fervently hope that we will maintain and strengthen the ties with our Allies, and that a brighter future will emerge for mankind.

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A Greek Hero Gives His Idea Of A Peoples' Peace

By

BASIL JOHN VLAVIANOS

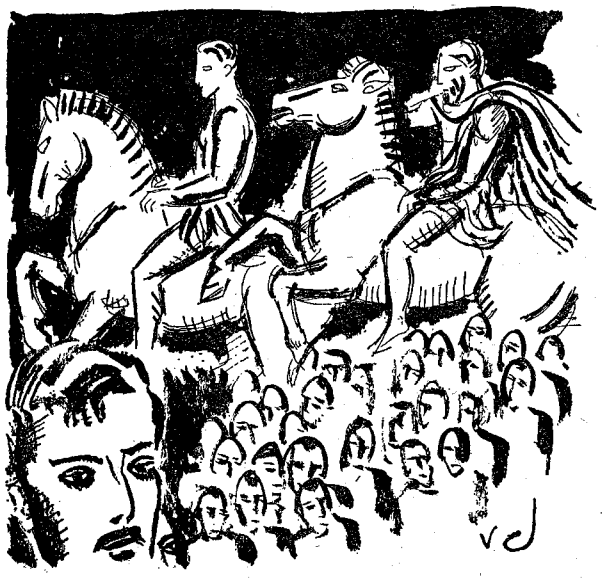
Publisher and Editor of the Greek *National Herald*

THE other day I sat down and had a long talk with a young man who had just reached this country from Greece. Stelios Elias Haritakis is thirty. Once he was an active newspaperman; later he was a volunteer in the Greek Army, serving as a sub-machine gunner. In the Greco-Italian war he lost his two legs.

My friend and I discussed many things. He gave me a vivid picture of the EAM, the Greek Resistance Movement and of its armed wing, ELAS. He talked with deep feeling about these movements of the people, and of the Greek peoples' aim to establish a real peoples' peace. And though there was a tinge of bitterness mingled with his account of recent events in his land, his manner never departed from absolute poise and restraint.

I wondered what significance San Francisco would have to Stelios Haritakis who had seen the worst horrors of this war. I asked him if he could define for me what he meant by a peoples' peace and what he considered its minimum requirements.

"What I mean," he explained, "is that peace can only come to the people of the world if they are given the opportunity to have a real and active participation in their own respective governments. This is a basic necessity. Political implementation is needed because it gives the people the instruments with which to protect their own economic interests. It is necessary also in order to provide job opportunities with minimum wage returns, and a system of social security comprehensive enough to assure the people freedom from want.



"Freedom from fear is something that people can enjoy only if they are able to develop their own native cultures without any hindrance from outside forces."

Haritakis said that much as he was interested in the Dumbarton Oaks plan for world organization, he felt that the Bretton Woods economic proposals were more important still. "So many outstanding leaders have talked so eloquently about political rights!" he exclaimed. "I do wish a few of them would say something about economic rights. It is basically important for all countries to have their economic rights. It is basically important for all countries to have their economic rights restored. Otherwise governments will never achieve stability."

My friend from Greece said he felt that the Dumbarton plan at least provides a framework within which those who have been entrusted with the task of laying the foundations for peace will be able to set up mechanisms for preventing future wars. "San Francisco must not be looked on as a treaty conference," he said. "And another thing, just so long as we permit fascist elements to exist anywhere in the world, there will always be imminent danger to democracy."

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A Two-Way Street

By ALFRED P. SLOAN, Jr.

This great industrial leader sees a new day of progress dawning, in which international business relationships will be based on recognition of the principle of mutual benefit.

WHEN the United Nations have won the war and the peoples of the world can return to peacetime activities, the cry everywhere is certain to be for increased opportunity. A demand for better living. The background of such a cry will be the expanded contacts and closer relationships with other peoples and their modes of life brought about by the war. Such a widening of their horizons will have opened up new visions of better things for untold millions. Imaginations will be stimulated, ambitions aroused, hopes rekindled.

But *how* can such a highly desirable objective be attained? How can the various nations of the world with such vastly different standards of living, such diversified natural resources, such a varied background of experience and evolution be brought together to the common objective of advancing the well-being of all? *Is* there a solution? That is the problem! At best it is most difficult.

There are two approaches. We must choose. Are our international relationships to be on the basis of mutual benefit—a two-way street, in other words? Or are some to gain at the expense of others? I am convinced that mutual benefit is the only permanent basis for international relationships in the postwar era, and that with a reasonable amount of intelligence, relying on past experiences, we can establish such relationships on the basis of mutual advantage and common progress. Otherwise we substitute expediency for permanence. That does *not* solve any problem.

The "mutual benefit" approach offers two general possibilities:

First: As a part of the economic adjustments arising out of the war, all nations should encourage the greatest possible volume of world trade through facilitating the exchange of goods and services. For many years previous to the war, world trade was restricted by unreasonable and unintelligent barriers. These must be removed. The willing buyer and the willing seller must not only be permitted to get together but encouraged to the maximum to do so.

Second: To export our capital and our "know-how." Thus we contribute by bringing into greater productivity the natural resources and labor of other peoples. This is in harmony with a trend extending back over the past quarter century—a trend of increased local industrialization in many countries throughout the world. This trend is sure to be accelerated as a result of the experiences of the war. The peoples of such countries look forward, and very properly so, to an increasing development of their own industries based upon the use of their own natural resources and supported by their own productive labor, even though this may result at times, and of necessity, in higher selling prices for many products.

Hence, we should attack the objectives in both these ways—expanding the basis of the exchange of goods and services and through stimulating industrialization abroad. Some might argue that these two approaches are in conflict—that the more we export our capital and our "know-how," the less we

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shall export our goods and services. But this is so only in degree. If we turn back the pages of history we find a very consistent pattern. As the countries of the world improve themselves economically, as they increase their efficiency, as they expand their purchasing power by developing their natural resources, their trade with other nations increases accordingly. The whole tempo of world progress is stimulated. Therefore, we should help others to help themselves. And at the same time we can do so in our own self-interest.

The management of General Motors always has subscribed in its world operations to both the principles just enunciated. It hopes to continue to do so along a broader front after the war. It has taken part, whenever it was economically practical, in the industrialization of other countries. In some it has carried on assembly and semi-manufacturing operations. In others it has manufactured its products complete. It has made broad use of both local materials and local labor. It has disseminated its technique and "know-how." It has produced or distributed in all countries where it has operated, products which are wealth-producing in themselves. I mention General Motors because that is the organization with which I am most familiar. It affords an example of how the "know-how" of one country can be brought to bear to assist in the industrial development of another.

Let us work together cooperatively and to mutual benefit after the war. Only in that way will it become possible to establish a pattern of world economic progress for the future, and let us also remember that the results will be determined by the imagination, intelligence, and aggressiveness with which we tackle the job.

World Trade And San Francisco

BY

R. W. G. MACKAY

A prominent British businessman expresses his conviction that there can be no turning back toward economic nationalism.

THE greatest difficulty in considering the problem of postwar international trade is that most people view it in the background of what happened between two wars. We just cannot go back to the system of economic nationalism which was, as much as any other single factor, responsible for the outbreak of war in 1939.

So long as the world is divided into sixty-six separate states, some large and some small, we shall have differences in regard to international trade. These differences did not arise in the nineteenth century because Britain was the chief exporter of the world and controlled the trade of the world and the economic monetary system. With the rise of America and the presence of certain European states, chiefly Germany, in the field of international trade, the whole basis of the nineteenth century system broke down. Each independent sovereign state endeavors to secure as much trade as possible abroad, partly to provide exchange for the purchase of raw materials and partly to provide employment for its own people. The necessity of each independent state securing its own raw materials will remain a factor in international trade as long as there are sovereign states.

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The supposition that exports are the means of creating employment is one of the mistakes of the inter-war years and must not be repeated in the postwar period. This idea arose mainly out of the conditions of mass unemployment that were prevalent from 1931 to the war. No country, not even Britain and the United States should export primarily to create home employment.

One cannot be certain that the lessons of the inter-war years have been learned by countries of the world. Moreover, the position of some of these countries has changed so greatly as a result of war that an entirely new set of conditions will prevail. Russia is virtually a self-sufficient country. She may need to export certain commodities in order to provide an exchange balance with which she can purchase from other countries certain raw materials and manufactured goods which she requires but these will be a small part of the national income of the country.

Britain is of course in a slightly different position. Before the war she had large investments overseas, most of which have been liquidated. She also depended largely on her overseas investments or on her exports as the means of paying for her food and raw materials. Now that overseas investments have been liquidated, it becomes necessary in the eyes of many people to increase her exports greatly in order to make up the deficiency. The proper conclusion is to review the raw materials the country requires and to plan exports independently, in order to provide sufficient foreign exchange, chiefly in American dollars, so that raw materials can be purchased to the exclusion of luxury goods which were purchased in the prewar years. This involves, as in Russia, government control of the export trade of the country. Not many of the business men of Britain will recognize the necessity for this control.

The situation in America is entirely different to that in Britain. You have a market of 120,000,000 people and your exports amounted to less than 10 per cent of your national income. By proper reorganization of industry, America need not be a big exporting country. On the other hand, the development of your war industries will make it necessary for the United States to export a much larger percentage of its total production than it did in prewar days, otherwise large-scale unemployment will be faced.

World Prosperity Indivisible

THIS brings us back to the initial consideration. So long as exports are thought of as a means of creating full employment, then each country will press for large exports without realizing that by so doing they are creating unemployment in their own country and other countries as well. World prosperity, like peace, is indivisible and it depends on the prosperity of each independent national unit.

At a conference such as San Francisco, at which fifty or sixty nations are present, if each tries to paddle its own canoe for its own benefit at the expense of the others, there can be no real contribution to the problem of world trade. The solution to this problem depends upon the grouping together of different nations for trading purposes. Russia is a self-sufficient unit, the United States can be another, Europe can be another, and South America another. In the same way India, China and Africa can become separate self-sufficient economic units.

Britain must realize that her days of ruling the economic world are over and that she is really nothing more than a state in this economic world such as California is a state in America.

Europe, organized politically like the United States, would provide an economic unit of 300,000,000 people and enormous resources and economic power. In fact it would be self-sufficient. If Europe, the United States, South America, Russia, China and India were regarded as seven economic units of the world, then international trade would become a simple problem. Each of these units would export their surplus to others and take in the surplus of others and thereby secure the raw materials they required. Only a world organized on this basis can solve the problem of international trade in the 20th century. A world of sixty-six independent states will return to the international economic anarchy of the prewar years.

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Free World's

American Opinion Poll

Probably the world has never seen so great an upsurge of popular sentiment in favor of international cooperation as that which marks our present time. The will of the people to ensure peace has become a motivating force behind the action of governments — culminating now in the portentous meeting of statesmen at San Francisco.

The results of this month's American Opinion Poll highlight what is happening. Certainly at no time in American history, prior to our day, have almost three-fourths of the American people urged that our nation pledge itself to join a world organization. Never before have half of our citizens urged that we likewise pledge American armed forces to help check aggression anywhere in the world.

The May Poll results indicate that Americans are beginning to realize deeply and fully their relationship to the family of nations, and to accept the full measure of responsibility that such a relationship entails, as the alternative to war and chaos.

The old saying that there is nothing new under the sun is being abundantly disproved in our time. A new unity among peoples is being born — a new "humanness." It may be said that it is merely an extension of neighborliness, of brotherhood. That is so — but the new is often compounded out of the old. Often, too, it arises out of blood and sweat, pain and travail, as now.

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THE QUESTION

When the United Nations get together at San Francisco, which one of these things comes closest to what you would like to see the United States delegates pledge our country to do:

1. *Agree* to join a world organization, and *promise* that some American armed forces *can* be used with others of the United Nations if this is ever necessary to stop one country from attacking another.

2. *Agree* to join a world organization, but do *not* promise that American armed forces can be used with those of other United Nations to stop one country from attacking another.

3. Do *not* agree to join a world organization of any kind, and do *not* promise the use of American armed forces.

The Answers:

THE GENERAL PUBLIC SAYS:

1. **Pledge our country to join a world organization and promise armed help to check any aggression 50%**
2. **Pledge our country to join a world organization but do not promise American armed forces 23%**
3. **Do not agree to join a world organization and do not promise American armed forces 18%**
4. **Not sure what we should do 9%**

See also next page for* FREE WORLD *readers' replies to the Poll

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Free World Readers Reply to the Poll

STRONG feeling was revealed by our readers on the side of American participation in a world organization, and also in favor of backing this with a pledge of armed force to check aggression. Readers' replies to the poll question and to the alternative lines of national conduct it suggested showed the following percentages:

1. Pledge our country to join a world organization and promise armed help *to check any aggression* 90%
2. Pledge our country to join world organization but do not promise American armed forces 8%
3. Do not agree to join a world organization and do not promise American armed forces 2%

The widespread significance attached to the present effort to bring about lasting peace was underlined by the many comments and letters accompanying readers' votes on the poll question. They showed their eagerness to see the United States cooperate with other nations by such comments as:

"Only if all countries work together without reservations can we avoid war."

"If we really want lasting peace, we must work at it and mean it just as we are working for victory and meaning it. We must do MORE than our share to establish peace."

One reader while voting for number 1 of the alternatives, wrote in this comment:

"Give armed help to check aggression—but only if every other conceivable effort has been made to avoid the use of arms. History shows that preparing for war usually gets it! In any case it has never yet prevented war. So, let us try a slower but better way, via non-hatred among people and education toward the end of peace."

The majority of readers urged not only that we join a world organization, but that we definitely pledge ourselves to give armed help to check aggression. Following are some of the comments they made:

"We need an international organization backed by an international police force for a better international order."

"Armed help we must have, but that will not be enough; knowledge of how to apply economic sanctions—to stir up public opinion—eternal vigilance."

"In almost every instance I believe the energetic use of sanctions will make armed help unnecessary."

"As a member of a world organization, practically considered, we are now engaged in armed help to eliminate aggression. Therefore, regardless of whether we promise or not I believe we would do the same again and a darn sight quicker."

"If the aggressors know that armed force will be used against them, they will not be so aggressive."

"It is important that prompt action be taken when aggression or disturbance threatens."

"The world can't retain a true peace after the war unless there is a world organization backed by the armed forces of all its members. Of course the U. S. should be an active participant of any such organization."

Two readers commented on the "promise armed help to check aggression" as follows:

"Not only promise—but KEEP our promise."

"Take out the word promise and insert the word provide."

* * *

Analysis of the replies of the general public to the Poll lead to some interesting conclusions. The percentage of those favoring our participation in a world organization backed by a promise of our armed help to check aggression was much higher among professional, business and white collar workers than among manual, service or farm workers. Of white collar workers, 61 per cent voted for number 1. Among manual workers 44 per cent, farmers 47 per cent.

Persons at higher economic levels showed a great proportion for number 1. Those in the upper economic brackets voted 67 per cent for number 1, in the middle brackets 53 per cent, in the lower bracket 38 per cent. By education those at the college level voted 73 per cent for number 1, those at the high school level 53 per cent, those at the grammar school level 40 per cent. Regional and political differences apparently had little effect upon the poll results.

In general it seems evident that the persons who were best informed about the problem of United States participation in a world organization favored it by the largest percentages. Excellent as the poll results seem, they are also a warning and an indication that further educational work needs to be done to acquaint all Americans with the importance of international cooperation.

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The June Poll

As a proper sequel to this month's Poll on world cooperation to end war, FREE WORLD asked the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver to query the American public in regard to our cooperation in the task of rehabilitating the war torn nations of the world. Our readers are also invited to vote on this question as stated below.

Question for June

How do you think we'll have the best chance of having prosperity in this country after the war . . . by helping other countries in the world get back on their feet, or by not helping them?

1. Helping
2. Not helping
3. Makes no difference
4. Don't know

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

I believe our chances of prosperity in the United States after the war can best be improved by:

1. Helping other countries get back on their feet
2. Not helping them to rehabilitate themselves
3. Our help to other countries will in my opinion have no effect on our domestic prosperity
4. I do not know how it would affect our own prosperity

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Name.....

Address.....

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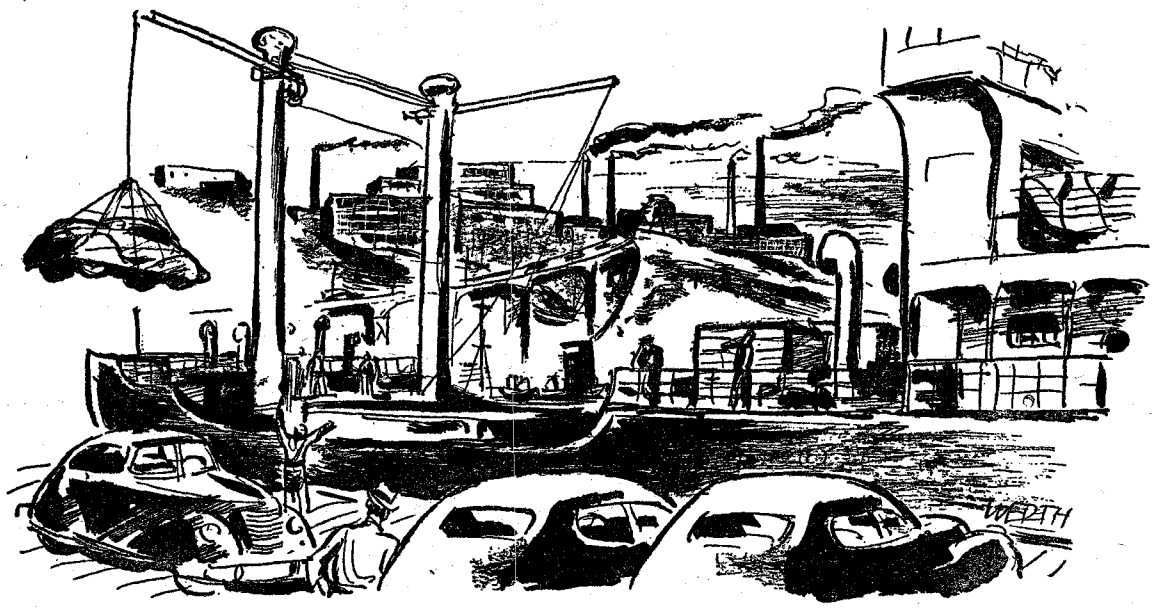

Labor's Stake In Peace Planning

BY

PHILIP MURRAY

LABOR'S stake in the postwar world organization is a twofold one. As workers, the men and women of organized labor depend on world peace and stability for continuing employment. As citizens, organized workers have the same stake in peace and security that is shared by all Americans.

Full production and full employment after this war is won will depend to a high degree on the economic as well as the political organization of the peace. Without a high and stable level of world trade, which in return requires a stable political organization, we cannot hope for material prosperity in this country or abroad.

For this reason the CIO, together with all forward looking groups in this and other countries of the United Nations, is supporting the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a postwar United Nations Organization and the Bretton Woods agreement for an expanded world trade.

But future economic and social welfare are not the only reasons for CIO's support of these two basic peace plans. Organized labor has realized throughout its history that the conditions which lead up to war are inseparably bound up with the living and working conditions of the peoples of the world.

The kind of economic anarchy that promotes political anarchy inevitably leads to wars of aggression. The world depression of the 1920's and the early 1930's made the best possible breeding ground for the brand of economic and military aggression that is defined in the term fascism.

That period will be remembered as one of ruthless and utterly reckless competition between nations for a share of a con-

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stantly decreasing world commerce. National currencies were deliberately debased in the effort to outdo the cheapened prices of competitors. Superior economic strength was used through systems of barter, of "blocked accounts" and similar methods to force unwilling concessions from smaller countries.

THESE forms of economic aggression, leading up to military aggression and war, victimized first the workers in the countries involved and finally all classes of citizens. Trade unionists, as the history of the past few years has shown, were among the first victims, along with minority groups.

To prevent a repetition of the tragic years of economic chaos leading up to World War II, the organized labor movement supports such economic security plans as those drawn up in the Bretton Woods agreement and in other United Nations economic and social conferences.

Further proof of the fact that economic organization goes hand in hand with political organization is found in the inclusion of the Economic Council in the Dumbarton Oaks plans.

In the Economic Council, the peoples of the free world have a promise that their welfare will be high on the agenda of the United Nations organization. Through its success, and through the success of other organized steps to maintain and increase the living standards of the common people, we will have an opportunity to lay a firm basis for peaceful development and progress throughout the world.

Security for All Peoples

THE basis of all world organization must be found in unity of action. In the world trade union conference held in London last February, a decisive step toward world unity was taken by delegates from 35 nations representing more than fifty million workers.

In the *Call to All Peoples* adopted at the close of the conference, the delegates unanimously declared their objective to be, following the ultimate defeat of the Axis:

". . . to establish a stable and enduring peace, and to promote in the economic sphere the international collaboration which will permit the rich resources of the earth to be utilized for the benefit of all its peoples, providing full employment, rising standards of living and social security to the men and women of all nations."

WITH this determination to achieve world security for all peoples, organized labor has an equal determination to secure the utmost respect for the rights of all peoples and all nations. The Four Freedoms and the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter must go together with economic and political organization. Freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly are all basic to freedom from war, from want and from fear.

WE cannot expect as a nation to play our full part in postwar world security unless our people are also secure at home. For this reason, the CIO believes wholeheartedly that the program of sixty million jobs in this country, with high wage levels to maintain buying power, and individual freedom are essential not only to our welfare but to that of the entire world.

Above all, we cannot expect to have a new world of peace and security presented to us without effort on our part, whether we are members of organized labor, whether we are professional workers, farmers, businessmen or housewives. Building the peace will take the combined work and study of all of us. Just as winning the victory has taken the effort and sacrifice of all citizens, so will the job of creating a just and lasting peace.

Organized labor's role in building the peace together with its fellow citizens, was recognized again at the London trade union conference when the delegates said:

"The peace will be a good peace, an enduring peace, a peace worthy of the sacrifices by which it has been won, only if it reflects the deep resolve of the free peoples, their interests, their desires and their needs."

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LONDON TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

60,000,000 Workers Back World Organization

BY

R. J. THOMAS

Chairman of the American Delegation to the World Trade Union Conference

The workers' representatives who gathered in London recently from 42 nations set a striking example of international unity. They brought to the Conference the solid backing of millions of workers for the ideals of world organization and for the objective of a better life everywhere for the common man.

THE Crimean accord was announced as the delegates to the recently concluded World Trade Union Conference were in session. The delegates, representing sixty million people from every major country in the world outside of Germany, unanimously endorsed the "historic decisions" of the Crimean Conference and welcomed the "determination to proceed at once to perfect an international organization along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals." This ratification by the *people* of the world of the Big Three's peace plans is the surest guarantee of ratification by the *governments* of the world.

The World Labor Conference results will not make everybody happy. Representative Clare Hoffman from my home state of Michigan won't like them. Representative Rankin of Mississippi won't like them. Martin Dies won't be at all pleased. Hitler and his quislings will suffer from them. They will suffer fully as much as they have from any battle lost under Hitler's intuition.

But the plain, ordinary citizens all over the world will hail the London Conference as proof of the innate decency and good sense of the common man. Consider for a moment what it means to bring together in one meeting hall 230 people from 42 countries—most of the countries at war, some of them occupied by the enemy, and all of them suffering from years of devastation and war.

Imagine, if you will, working people from Italy meeting today with workers from France, the same Italians who were ordered by Mussolini to pillage and despise their neighbor. Imagine Norwegian workers, after four years of a Quisling Government which told them that Hitler's new order had decreed that Russians and Frenchmen were an inferior race, meeting and working together with delegates from those very countries. Consider the significance of workers from Nigeria and other African colonies helping British Commonwealth citizens develop a program for a postwar world!

The World Trade Union Congress symbolized the wave of freedom, in the shape of United Nations armies and United Nations war workers, which is inundating the world.

There were among us men who had for years suffered in exile, but who had never given up; men and women who had, year-in-and-year-out, rallied the peoples of their lands into never-ending resistance to the temporarily triumphant war machines of

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the Ax nd there were among us men and w n who had suffered the clubs and t whips that go with imprisonment in na camps.

As we American workers sat beside them we received vivid object lessons concerning how precious is our own freedom. All of us had known war, but not all of us had known slavery or the destruction which, for instance, had been visited on the millions of workers of England, France and the Soviet Union.

More incredible than the meeting of all these delegates from forty-two countries is the fact that every action taken was approved unanimously.

In urging the calling of the World Trade Union Conference, President Philip Murray of the CIO proposed that the new body ". . . shall include all the unions of free countries on a basis of equality, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place, and . . . capable of defending the interests of the common man." President Murray's aim has been accomplished. No honest trade union leader can object to the proposed world labor organization, its objectives or its method of procedure. Nobody, whether in labor or in any other walk of life can legitimately differ with the program.

No one, that is, but the Hitlers and the Quislings who thrive on disunity, who have sought through years of propaganda to split the people within each country, and to split the people of one country off from those of other countries.

Prosperity and Freedom

PEOPLE of America today want to end the war as quickly as possible. They want a democratic and lasting peace. They want a postwar program of prosperity and freedom. And these are the objectives enunciated in resolutions which the Trade Union Conference endorsed unanimously. A charter was adopted embodying the basic rights of trade union members in all countries. If accomplished, this charter would provide a solid basis for real democracy.

The charter provides:

"Freedom of trade union organization, activities and collective bargaining. The working people shall be free to establish cooperatives and other mutual aid organizations. Freedom of speech, the press, assembly, religion and political association, including no sex discrimination and equal pay for equal work. Equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people. Suitable employment at adequate rates of pay to all requiring work. Adequate protection where required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen."

The Conference faced the problem of what to do with Germany after the Allied victory. We wanted no kid-gloved peace, no sparing of nazi criminals who may arise as the leaders of a new world war.

The Conference resolved:

1. That Germany be defeated completely and beyond all question and that the myth of Germany's invincibility be destroyed once and for all.

2. That Germany's blood-guilty war leaders and war criminals pay the full penalty for their crimes and that every German man or woman who has taken an active part in atrocities be brought to trial and punishment.

3. That restitution be made for all stolen property whether looted from conquered cities, expropriated during military occupation, exacted from municipalities or communes, or plundered from individual citizens.

4. That Germany must make reparations in services, goods and money even though it involves the continuance of Allied control over the entire German economy for many years and perhaps for generations.

5. That Germany must be totally disarmed by the surrender of all munitions, the dissolution of the German general staff and the disbandment of all her armed forces, the closing down of all German war factories, the dispersal of all war-like stores and raw materials used in war manufacture, the dismantling of all industrial establishments in which war production has been carried on and the outright prohibition of the production and use of aircraft.

6. That the German military system be

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utterly eliminated, with all agencies of military instruction closed, the wearing of uniforms prohibited and such changes made in the political, economic, social and territorial structure of the German Reich as will destroy its military foundation.

7. Germany must be democratized by the establishment of such political and economic conditions within which the framework of the institutions of free citizenship can be developed under stringent guarantees, particularly the reestablishment of free trade unions and the freedom of political and cultural association and freedom of the press and assembly.

8. German youth must be re-educated in an atmosphere cleansed of the Prussian militarist tradition with its glorification of war and its contemptuous and hostile attitude toward democratic ideals.

9. Germany, thus transformed, must be reintegrated ultimately with the European community and with the new world order that the United Nations are resolved to establish in the coming peace settlement.

I'm happy to note that the most powerful newspapers in London, from extreme Left to the conservative London *Times* recognize that this achievement of unity is good not only for labor but for the entire world. It is our hope that the few organizations of labor, principally in the United States, which failed to send representatives will join the new trade union organization. This is not a question of ideology or politics. As stated in the *Call To All Peoples* issued on February 22 by the Conference, "We represented all races, colors and creeds. We spoke to one another in different languages. But we were united on the objectives which we as workers share with all freedom-loving peoples."

To me this unity was most clearly brought out in the Yugoslav delegation and in the French delegation, with members of the Catholic trade unions working in harmony with Communists and Socialists.

New World Labor Organization

A CONTINUATIONS committee of forty-one members was formed to start work on a constitution for the new world federation of labor. Their headquarters will be in Paris. Work on the constitution was completed early in April when an administrative committee made up of thirteen members representing Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France, China, Australia, the United States, CTAL of Latin America, and the IFTU met in Washington. At this time they organized a program for presentation to the San Francisco Conference.

We recognized that a new organization was necessary because the International Federation of Trade Unions was not representative. It does not have representation, for example, from the CIO in America or from any of the Soviet trade unions. The IFTU has been moribund for many years. It has failed to act during the present war.

The policy of the IFTU was to admit only one labor organization from each country. The effect of this was to help divide world labor and to encourage a suicidal struggle for power within each country. It refused to change its constitution during the war to permit the new labor organizations which have developed during the years of war to become affiliated.

There are still those in the United States and elsewhere who hope to inject some life into the IFTU for the sole purpose of pitting it against the new world labor organization. Such a policy will no doubt be encouraged by reactionaries in every country whose objectives can best be achieved by disunity. But they are doomed to failure. It is significant that Walter Schevenels of the IFTU participated in drawing up the above-mentioned *Call To All Peoples* and is a member of the thirteen-man administrative committee.

* * *

I AM sometimes asked why we concern ourselves with a world trade union conference when there is so much to be done here in America. My answer is that unless we help bring up the standards of millions of workers all over the world, unless we help work out their problems, unless we prevent war in other parts of the world, then we in America are in danger. The success of the London Trade Union Conference is a guarantee that labor has abandoned isolationism and will be in the front lines of the march toward a better world.

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The Great Peace Plans

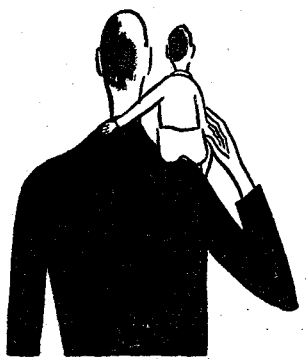
BY

HOWARD O. EATON

BUT for the overwhelming popular interest in ways to prevent wars that has expressed itself in recent years in a series of great peace plans, we might well have reached the end of this war without any clear road ahead. As it is, there has been opportunity in the United Nations for the clash of opinions, and for the growth of rudimentary ideas into well defined proposals on how to maintain the peace after the military victory.

Thus, the great peace plans have served their purpose—they are solid steps of granite on which the men at San Francisco mount to their task of planning a world organization that can work. Without the plans, they might not have called a conference at San Francisco or anywhere else to discuss world organization, but presumably would have been content with a "Peace Conference" around the green table.

The anguished cries of outraged humanity became articulate in a series of great peace plans. The very force of their logic and the evident sobriety and equity of their proposals gained such support and enthusiastic endorsement that it became impossible for the Governments of professedly democratic nations to disregard them. Hence the Conference at San Francisco, meeting to plan guarantees for security and international organization, bears a striking resemblance to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.



It would be easy and therefore dangerous to push the analogy between 1787 and 1945 too far. There will gather at San Francisco delegates who represent the same two opposing schools of thought as gathered at Philadelphia. Some will wish to see the maintenance of the untrammeled sovereignty of all participating states. Others will recognize that the security of peace requires the pooling of sovereignty in the formation of an effective international organization. The issues at San Francisco will not, however, be as simple as that. No one will talk in such plain and simple language.

Instead, we shall probably observe that some of the delegates wish to borrow the trappings and phraseology of internationalism to cover what is in fact imperialistic isolationism, and others may borrow the semantics of isolationism in order to achieve what is in fact a truly international organization with real power to preserve the peace. In short, there may be an amazing amount of double talk, and the simple, wayfaring man will have to examine the record very closely to discover which school of thought has won the honors of the Conference.

Let these facts not engender either dismay or cynicism. The very calling of this Conference means a tremendous progress since 1919. The Dumbarton Oaks plan, as clarified at Yalta, already represents a very considerable advance beyond Geneva. Consider, for instance, the general statement at the end of Chapter II of Dumbarton Oaks:

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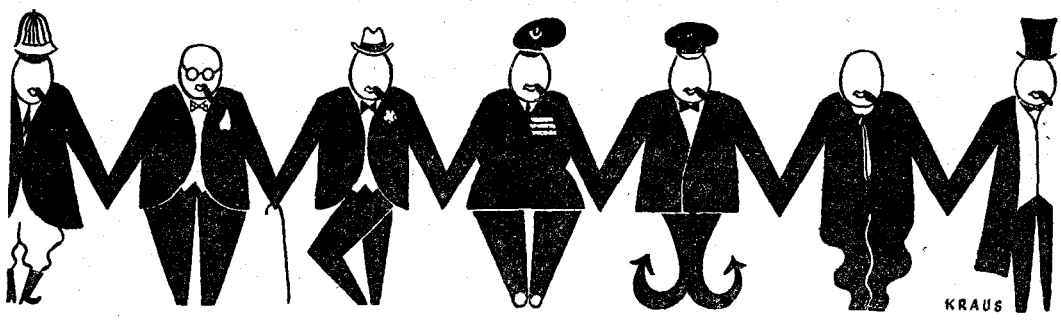

"The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security."

If this statement is retained in the final Act of San Francisco then it will mean that even non-member nations can be coerced, that neutrality is dead, and that every nation by virtue of the mere fact that it occupies territory on the surface of the globe is subordinate to the common will of humanity as embodied in the action of the Organization. International free-booters will not be tolerated.

Prosperity Vital to Peace

ON the other hand there is not the slightest chance that a "Super-State" will emerge at San Francisco. If the world is to be policed in the immediate future it will be by a voluntary "vigilante committee" of the great Powers animated not by great peace plans but by great expections as to what world peace and prosperity mean to them.

Fortunately none of the great Powers is a have-not country or seriously in conflict with any of the other great Powers. To grant a veto to the permanent members of the Security Council is a frank recognition that the peace of the world hangs on the possibility of maintaining these friendly relations among the great Powers for an indefinite period in the future. The purpose of having a Security Organization is not merely to provide convenient ways of getting friendly nations to work together; its chief function should be to provide equitable ways of insuring that not-quite-so-friendly nations will work together instead of pounding the war drums. The unanimity rule throws the great Powers back on their own sovereignty when they fail to come to unanimous agreement.

Our only hope for durable peace is that the great Powers can maintain a spirit of friendly and harmonious cooperation on the political plane for a sufficient time to permit the economic and cultural life of the world to be woven into a pattern so satisfactory for all participants that another cataclysm of war is simply ruled out. Thus the real problem of maintaining peace is not primarily a question of balancing military contingents under some principle such as Ely Culbertson's "quota force principle." Such a world would soon fall apart unless linked together by the strong bonds of personal interest, prosperous employment, and an increasing volume of world trade.

The great peace plans now being actively discussed are mainly concerned with the more effective inter-weaving of the economic life of the world. The first of these plans to obtain official sanction was the food and agriculture program evolved at the Hot Springs Conference in 1943. As it evolved, this plan shied away from the major problem with which it was originally supposed to deal, namely, how to control the chronic surpluses of certain crops such as wheat, coffee, and sugar. The Food and Agriculture Organization, as now constituted, will be primarily concerned with related questions, chiefly in the field of nutrition; through its researches it may ultimately lay the foundation for successfully dealing with the problem of crop surpluses.

Another of the great peace plans is the Bretton Woods plan for monetary stabilization and for a world reconstruction bank; these constitute the economic counterpoise to Dumbarton Oaks on the political plane. Much of the failure of the League may properly be laid to the lack of such an economic "wing" to the structure at Geneva.

When the delegates gather at San Francisco much of their thinking will be conditioned by their estimates as to the probabilities for and against the ultimate adoption of these great economic plans. Pessim-

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ism with regard to their adoption would compel most of the San Francisco delegates to deal with the world's political problems on a very narrow and nationalistic basis. An orderly political world is unthinkable without an orderly economic world. That much is clearly understood by everyone.

Economic Isolationists

BEYOND this point there will be divergence of opinion. Some think that the active participation of the great Powers is prerequisite to the establishment of any additional economic organization going beyond the scope of these existing proposals. Others believe that the smaller nations can and should seek to work out an international solution for their economic problems even if this involves going beyond the point at which the great Powers will hesitate to commit themselves or promise active collaboration.

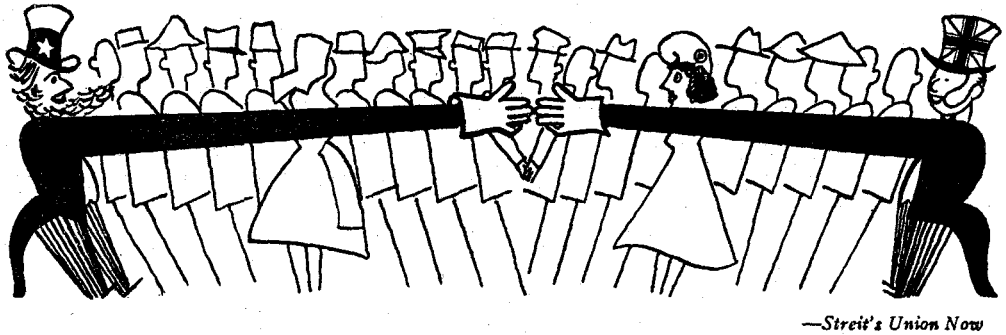
The striking thing about the present situation is that the great Powers are willing to move a long way toward international organization on the political plane, but are still essentially isolationist on the economic level. The simple fact of the matter is that the great Powers are for the most part reasonably self-sufficient economically; they see little need for moving much further toward internationalism economically than is involved in such plans as that of Bretton Woods. Even though the Monetary Fund is vastly superior to the old "hard money" techniques of the universal gold standard, it is clearly not enough all alone and taken by itself to assure full employment and prosperity in all of the member nations.

Any program for full employment involves economic planning for a wide range of resources and productive capacities. Such planning is relatively easy for the great Powers, each within its own frontiers; it is almost impossible for the smaller nations unless they are willing to integrate their political structures into some form of federation. It is this fact more than any other which gives perennial force and vitality to the federation idea in drafting one after another of the great peace plans.

Federal proposals naturally fall into two main categories: (a) those that specify the countries or regions to be federated; and (b) those without any geographical or cultural restriction. Among the former might be mentioned the proposals of such men as Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, Aristide Briand, Raymond Leslie Buell, and Alfred Bingham, looking toward some form of European federation; of Lionel Curtis and George Catlin who would begin with an English-speaking federation that might later on expand; and of Clarence Streit who has always emphasized that feature of his plans which provides for a "western democracy" nucleus.

A brief description of some of these federal-regional plans will serve to illustrate their likenesses and differences. Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, an Austrian born French citizen, in 1943 proposed a United States of Europe to include all the European nations between Portugal and Poland, plus Turkey and Egypt if they wished to join. European neutrals in the present war could remain outside at the start if they wished to protect their higher standard of living. Russia was to be excluded because of her size and totalitarian system. This European Federation was to be united with other regional federations such as the British Commonwealth, the Pan-American Federation, a Far East Federation, and the Soviet Union under a Commonwealth of the World with a permanent council of regional delegates.

In 1930 the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, proposed a European Association or Union made up of the European members of the League of Nations.



—Streit's Union Now

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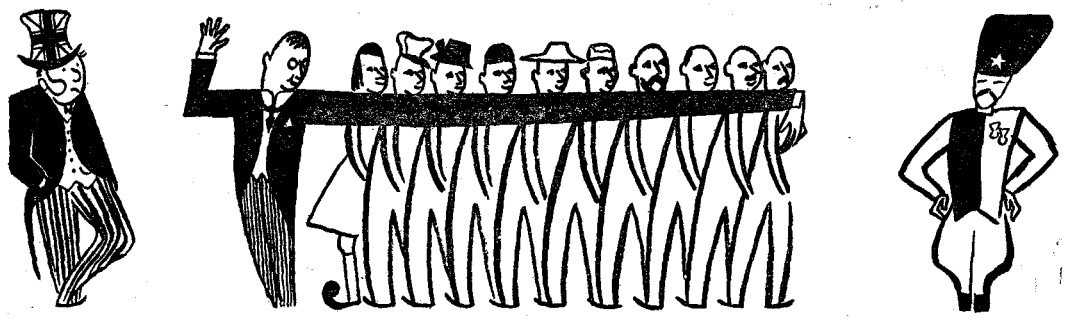

—*Coundenhove-Kalergi's Plan*

It was to have a Permanent Political Committee, limited to a certain number of member governments, each representative to be President in rotation. The Union was to serve as a European system of arbitration and security. Twenty-five nations replied to Briand's Memorandum, but sixteen of them doubted the need for the Union, feared it would undermine the influence of the League of Nations and would revive the danger of alliances.

Bingham Excluded Soviets

ALFRED M. BINGHAM, an American, in 1940 proposed a United States of Europe to include England, Iceland, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa as well as the rest of the European nations, the Soviet Union was to be excluded. The Organization was to have a tricameral legislative body consisting of a Council of States, a European Assembly and a Council of Nationalities. In the Council of States the nations were to be represented according to population and military position at the end of the war. In the European Assembly all Europe was to be divided into one hundred electoral districts, of one to five million inhabitants, each to send from one to five representatives. In the Council of Nationalities representation was to be in proportion to population to every ethnic group. The dominant group of nations within the Council of States was to function as the Executive. There was to be a European Arms Control Commission, a Colonial administration, an Investment Bank, a European Reconstruction agency and other features including a European Supreme Court.

Clarence K. Streit first proposed a plan called Union Now or union between fifteen democracies. Since the start of the war he has been advocating union with the British Commonwealth and all its nonself-governing possessions. He follows the American Constitution to a large extent, but suggests a Board of Five with a Premier and Cabinet as the executive. This later plan is known as Union Now with Britain.

Under Union Now the member nations were designated as Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Under the Union Now with Britain plan the member nations were to be Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, together with all their nonself-governing possessions. There was to be a bicameral legislative body, an Executive Board of five, of which three members were elected directly by citizen-vote, one by the Senate, one by the House, for five-year terms. Each was to serve as President for one year by rotation. The Premier was to be appointed by the Board, and to exercise executive powers delegated by the Board with the help of a Cabinet of his own choosing until he lost the confidence of the House or Senate when the Board would appoint another Premier. There was to be a High Court of eleven judges appointed for life with jurisdiction over all cases arising under the Constitution, laws of the Union and treaties made by it.

The great danger of all geographically restricted plans is that they will from the start be distrusted by those nations that are not included in them or in their "nucleus." In addition, plans for the political and economic federation of Europe, such as that of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, must face the problem of the place of Germany within such a restricted federation, within which it would be relatively easier for Germany to regain the dominant position than if the federation embraced a larger grouping of nations.

Among those plans that do not have

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specific geographical limitations might be mentioned the World Federation Plan of Ely Culbertson, the Walter Nash World Confederation, the Peoples Parliament plan of Nora S. Barney, the World State plan of John B. Corliss, Jr., and various plans based largely on the League of Nations, such as those of the group who worked with Manley O. Hudson, the plan of Philip Nash, and the several reports of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

Culbertson's plan called for division of the world into eleven regional confederations, united under a world confederation, with a bicameral legislative body composed of World Trustees and a World Senate. There were to be thirteen trustees, one from the most populous nation in each of the thirteen confederations, plus two at-large from the less populous states.

Culbertson's World Senate was to consist of sixty-six members, six from each Regional Confederation, representing capital, labor, agriculture, science, education and arts. The plan called for a World President with a six year term, not renewable and for a World Bank, World Commodity Corporation, Quota Armed Force and a World Armament Trust to supervise compliance with quota distributions of military strength. The plan also called for a World Supreme Court of thirteen Justices to interpret the World Confederation Constitution as well as for a system of lower Courts.

Philip C. Nash, American, President of the Universtiy of Toledo, and former Executive Director of the League of Nations Association, projected a plan in 1944 for a federal organization of all the nations with representation in the Assembly based on population. China, Great Britain, India, the Soviet Union and the United States were limited to twenty delegates each. Other nations were to have one delegate for each six million of population including colonies and mandates. Every nation was to have at least one delegate. He proposed an executive board of eight members, four of them to be citizens of the United States, China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. His plan called for an international police force to have half the strength of the largest national force.

John B. Corliss, Jr., an American, in 1943 proposed a World State with universal membership, but with the Axis nations and subjugated peoples to be under supervision of a World Congress. His plan called for a unicameral Congress of Nations, the number of envoys from each nation to be determined by population, literacy, cultural advance and peaceful pursuit of self-government. Thus the unit would be one envoy for every two million population; where literacy is over 90 per cent, two envoys, but with twenty envoys as a maximum. The Congress was to meet every year in January on different continents in rotation, to legislate on matters within the jurisdiction of the World State.

Nora Stanton Barney, an American, in 1944 proposed "World Peace through a Peoples' Parliament" drawn from all nations, including ex-enemies, women to have equal representation with men. The Peoples' Parliament would have equal power with the Parliament of Nations to be set up under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, and a World Cabinet would be drawn from the two parliaments. The Barney plan includes a World Court and a World Police force.

Economic Lines Need Welding

AN entirely different approach is represented by the group of which the present writer was a member. After several years of study the group evolved the plan published in *Federation: The Coming Structure of World Government*. This does not propose either a geographically restricted federation or a universal organization embracing all nations. The only requirement for the establishment of the federation proposed in the book would be the adhesion of a majority of the United Nations provided that the combined population of the signatory nations exceeded three hundred million persons. After the establishment of the federation any other nation, without restriction, would be invited to adhere and thereby enjoy the same rights and privileges as the charter members.

This plan has been criticized on the ground of its terminology, which is largely drawn from the constitutional law of the United States. This is only a minor detail. If the major proposals of the plan, looking

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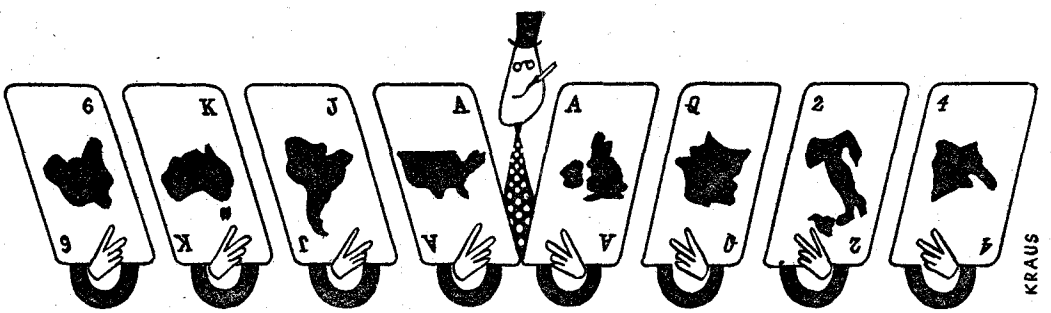

—Culbertson's Plan

as it does toward the economic integration of the full employment programs of the member nations, are acceptable to all parties concerned, no one is going to object very much to the verbal tradition which is the principal source of the phraseology of the definitive document. A world full-employment program is sketched briefly in Chapters VIII and XV of the book mentioned above. This program calls for the realization of the promises of the Atlantic Charter with respect to access to needed raw materials, and also provides for the integration of the fiscal policies, the tariff and trade structure and the banking and credit systems of the member nations.

It is quite clear that the world's medium sized and smaller nations can have an effective program for full employment only by going much further in these indicated directions than they have done in the past. If they were to come to basic agreement along the economic lines just indicated they could rather easily establish a combined full employment program which would ensure their prosperity and a continuously rising standard of living for their people. They probably could not achieve these desirable goals by a looser and vaguer form of international cooperation than is implied in the term federation. And it is almost certain that they could not do so by waiting until the great Powers are prepared to join them in establishing such an organization.

The delegates of the medium sized and smaller nations at San Francisco should therefore explore the extent to which it is possible for them to agree among themselves concerning these basic questions. It should be clear that there is nothing inconsistent between such exploration and the willingness of these smaller nations to cooperate in the establishment of an over-all political organization for security under the aegis of the great Powers. This is particularly true if they make it clear that they invite the participation of any or all of the great Powers in the operation of this more closely-knit economic federation either now or in the future.

Such an economic federation should not, then, be drafted at San Francisco or incorporated into the results of the Conference. Rather, it should be drafted at a supplementary convention, open for signature to all nations of the United Nations and eventually to all other nations who are willing to accept its provisions. The only precaution to be taken at San Francisco is to ensure that the Act of the Conference does not preclude the drafting of such a supplementary convention. There is nothing in the Dumbarton Oaks plan which could be so construed.

The work of drafting might well be delegated to the Economic and Social Council proposed in Chapter IX of Dumbarton Oaks. This could not be done if the eighteen members of the Council considered themselves to be exclusively the representatives of the eighteen states that name its members. The Council should, therefore, be set up so that its members free themselves of this thought and, instead, think of themselves as charged collectively with carrying out the will of the Assembly of the United Nations as a whole. This is the technique which has been most successfully employed by the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense at Montevideo.

The attempt to draft such a convention should bring to the fore many questions that have been explored more or less thoroughly in the great peace plans of the last few years. Thus there might be debate as to whether the central organization of the proposed economic federation should follow the traditions of responsible parliamentary government, or of the Presidential form involving a division of powers, or a Joint Executive along the lines of the Swiss

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model. The distribution of votes in the legislative body of the federation should presumably be on the basis of a weighted representation in which larger nations and nations having a larger responsibility in any world full-employment program should be entitled to a larger number of votes. In this respect one might well pay close attention to the weighted voting provisions of the Bretton Woods plan.

We must not make the mistake of thinking that the "sovereign equality of all nations" must imply the "sovereign equality in voting of all nations." Sovereign equality must mean and can only mean that all nations are equal before the bar of international law. This basic formula should not be twisted into the inequitable proposition that in voting in an international assembly or legislative body a nation of over one hundred million people must have no more voice or weight than a nation of a million people or less. Such a theory would reduce voting in such bodies to a scramble for "satellite votes"—and it would reduce the body itself to a debating society.

It has been argued that the "little nations" may resent weighted voting in such a body. But these nations have before them the following choice:

1. An international body having only consultative and oratorical functions; or,

2. An international legislative body having a large measure of responsibility in deciding basic international policies.

If there is any great difference in size between the prospective member nations of such a federation then it is clear that we can have the second alternative only on condition that the voting in the body is weighted in proportion to the size and importance of the various member nations. There would remain the purely technical question of finding an objective, equitable, and simple formula in accordance with which we can weight the votes of the different nations. This should, of course, be a formula acceptable to all signatory nations, and it would, in fact, be the product of negotiation and discussion among them.

The great peace plans have devoted much thought to this problem. In working out various formulas for weighted voting they have at one time or another taken into consideration such factors, among others, as: population, literacy, area of the various countries, length of frontiers, railroad mileage, volume of trade, tonnage of steel output. Many other items, such as gold holdings, were naturally taken into consideration in arriving at the "quotas" at Bretton Woods. If we wish the simplest possible formula, population would seem to be the major criterion which must be kept in mind, although there is sound reason for insisting that literacy also be a factor.

In adopting provisions for weighted voting in the legislative body of the proposed federation it would be well to observe the precedent established by the United States Constitution where a general formula was supplemented for the time being (until the first Census) by an agreed apportionment.

The most important item of all is the possibility that such a federation could incorporate within its basic law an international Bill of Rights of the Individual, supplemented perhaps by an analogous Bill of Rights of Nations or Peoples, and this great Bill of Rights should be based on all of the great Charters of Human Freedom from the Magna Charta to the Atlantic Charter. Every one of the great peace plans has incorporated some such attempt at formulating the minimum rights which must be fought for or the maximum rights which may be hoped for. It is highly doubtful if such a Bill of Rights can be incorporated into the Dumbarton Oaks formula which is exclusively founded upon the idea of a league of sovereign states.

It is because they persist in formulating alternative proposals for dealing with the baffling problems of international organization and security that the great peace plans will continue to exert a powerful force on world opinion. It is because they have always insisted upon the Rights of Man and the Rights of the Citizen that they have been understood and appreciated by the people from whom come the blood and sweat and tears of war. And it is because the peoples of the smaller nations are war's first and most tragic victims that the statesmen and leaders of these smaller nations must become the pioneers exploring the path toward the more effective integration of their nations for peace and prosperity.

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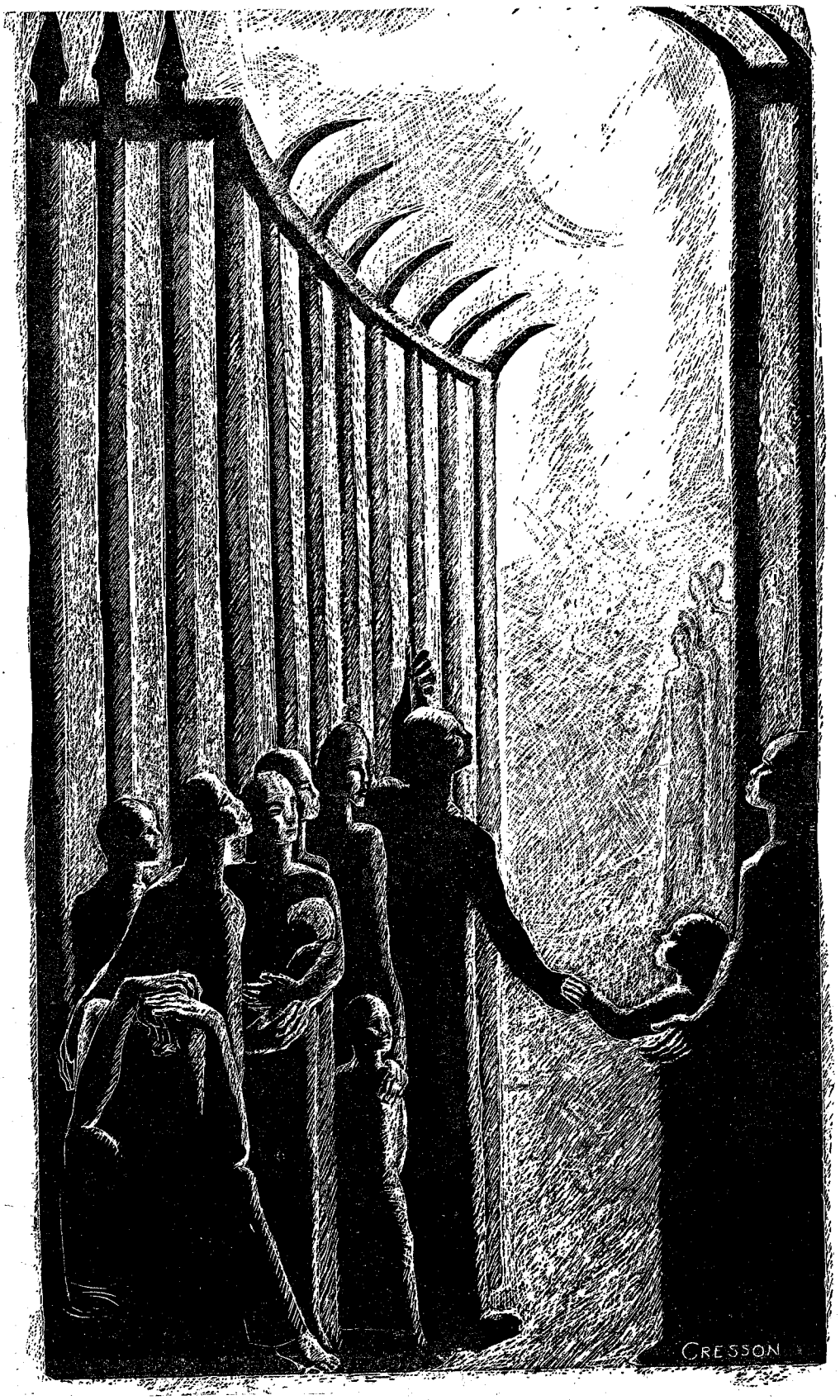

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IS THE WORLD COURT IN PERIL?

BY

JUSTICE MANLEY O. HUDSON

The World Court is a "living institution," that must not be scrapped by the planners at San Francisco, this great jurist believes.

FORTUNATELY, the Conference at San Francisco will not have to begin at scratch in at least one important phase of its work.

The preliminary proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks projected "an international court of justice" as one of the "principal organs of a new United Nations Organization," but they left as unfinished business the solution of the many problems which the maintenance of such a court will involve. The assembled United Nations must now face those problems, and seek to devise solutions which will fit into the charter of the Golden Gate. In doing so they cannot ignore a long and fruitful history. The world did not begin yesterday.

A century of effort has gone into the struggle to provide the world with a judicial body equipped to decide disputes between nations according to law. A resolution adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts on April 25, 1838 was but one of the many expressions of desire and determination which inaugurated that movement. Stepping stones were laid in scores of successful international arbitrations during the nineteenth century, among which the Alabama Claims arbitration in 1871 stands out conspicuously. In 1899, nineteenth century experience was codified in the Hague Convention on Pacific Settlement of Disputes, and the Permanent Court of Arbitration was established as a tentative of permanent judicial organization.

The movement encountered a lamentable failure in 1907, however, when an effort to create a really permanent court came to grief. This was due to the insistence of both large and small states that they be represented on the bench. The world had to live through the travail of a world war before the movement came into fruition.

A new day dawned for international law when on December 16, 1920, general agreement was reached on the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. That Statute is now a basic instrument of international law. It has been signed and ratified by fifty-one states of the world; eight additional nations have signed it without completing the formality of ratification. However, the wide support given to the Court is not adequately indicated by these figures. In the intervening years, more than five hundred international agreements have been concluded which relate in some way to the Court, and nearly all of the states of the world—in fact, all except Nepal, Saudi Arabia, the Vatican City, and Yemen—have become parties to such agreements. It is no exaggeration to say that a World Court exists under a World Statute.

Yet the record of such formal action tells but a small part of the story. The Statute has proved itself a living instrument, establishing the Court as a living institution.

Not only have the provisions of the Statute which relate to the maintenance of the Court worked, but they have worked well. The method of electing the judges has been employed on eleven separate occasions, without friction and without difficulty. It has supplied the Court with a competent bench of judges, men drawn from various parts of the world, representatives of various legal systems, and possessing many types of juristic experience. These men were not demi-gods, not paragons, but on the whole men of recognized standing, of irreproachable integrity, and of acknowl-

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edged proficiency in international law. The list includes many of the names which will go down in history of international law of our time—of men such as Anzilotti and Finlay and Huber and Hughes and Moore.

The Court was also supplied with the means for meeting its material needs. Imposing quarters were found for it in the Peace Palace at the Hague, and an adequate staff was recruited for administrative purposes. At no time was the Court lacking for funds for defraying its expenses; more than ten million dollars was advanced for that purpose by the League of Nations, out of contributions paid by states members of the League. Adequate, but hardly munificent, salaries were paid to its judges and its registry staff, and the costs of printing were met in such a way as to enable the Court to become one of the best documented public institutions in the world.

For eighteen years the Court was kept fairly busy. If it was never overloaded with work to do, it was not without some case on its docket during all its years.

The Statute did not confer any specific jurisdiction on the Court. It was merely constitutive. It set up a tribunal for states to use as and when the parties to a dispute might agree upon such use. A number of cases came before the Court on the special agreement of the parties. Under an optional provision in the Statute, however, nations could make declarations giving to the Court jurisdiction over defined classes of legal disputes, to be exercised without special agreement upon the application of a single party to a dispute. At one time or another, such declarations were made by forty-five of the fifty-one states which signed and ratified the Statute. Hence, the Court possessed, and it still possesses, a so-called compulsory jurisdiction of wide extent. Moreover, hundreds of treaties enlarged this jurisdiction with respect to particular subjects. In addition, the Court was empowered to give advisory opinions on requests emanating from the Assembly or Council of the League of Nations.

The consequence was that, during a period of eighteen years, sixty-five cases came before the Court. To dispose of them, the Court handed down thirty-two judgments, twenty-six advisory opinions, and several hundred orders.

What can one put down as the result of this activity? A relatively large number of disputes were finally settled, and settlement of others was facilitated. Some them were of more, and some were of less importance to the disputants. Most of them were vexatious. Some of them were dangerous to friendly relations.

There was less criticism of the Court's judgments and opinions than might have been expected! No criticism of a public institution would indicate that it is being ignored. The Court's judgment in the Lotus Case evoked some criticism among maritime experts, chiefly directed at the unsatisfactory state of the existing law which the Court had to apply. Its opinion in the Austro-German Customs Regime Case was criticized on an assumption, for which there was no foundation in fact, that it was based on political considerations. In both of these cases the judges had been narrowly divided.

Despite such criticism, the jurisprudence of the Court has served, and it will continue to serve, a great formative role in the development of international law. If the Court

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has shown little disposition to embark on bold departures, it has on several occasions made significant contributions toward the extension of existing law. In the Meuse Case, it did not hesitate to temper its handling of a legal situation by applying a principle of equity. And throughout the years, the Court has been a stabilizing factor, even influencing the settlement of disputes not brought before it.

The Court has been an even greater success than was anticipated. Its usefulness has been limited only by the willingness of peoples to insist upon its use.

Now what of its future? The need for just such a judicial institution is everywhere appreciated. It was clearly declared in the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks. The existing Court can serve the need, and with but slight adaptation of its Statute, it can be fitted into the new organization.

Yet this is a time of high mortality among international institutions. The League of Nations, the International Institute of Agriculture, the Bank for International Settlements, the International Committee on Aerial Navigation— all of these are now to be interred. Will the Court, which is possibly the most successful of the pre-existing institutions, suffer a similar fate?

Dumbarton Oaks was not too reassuring. Its statement of alternatives for a statute of the Court of the future—either the Statute of the existing Court or a new statute for which the existing Statute would serve merely "as a basis"—struck consternation into the minds of many people. For the second of these alternatives might reopen issues which have been laid at rest, it might sacrifice many of the gains of experience, and it might jeopardize the continuity required to preserve the gains achieved.

Of course the Court should be fitted into the new institutional setup. At the same time some slight amendments might be made in its Statute. Yet there is no crying need for changes, and tinkering with such an instrument is not likely to be fruitful, as was shown when the Statute was amended in 1929. The great preoccupation now should be to preserve the existing successful Court, to which a vast body of the world's treaty-law relates. To assure that result, modifications of its Statute may well be kept at a minimum.

The fundamental change which would vastly strengthen international law and give the Court a greater place in organized international life would be to confer on it a general jurisdiction over legal disputes which could be invoked by any party to such a dispute. The world was not ready for this step in 1920. Since that time, however, enormous progress has been made. The number of States which exercised the option and subjected themselves to the Court's compulsory jurisdiction was astonishingly large, though in some cases this was subject to reservations and for limited periods. Since 1920, the world has again lived through the horrors of world war.

A revitalization of international law would result if all of the members of the new organization could agree that in their legal disputes they would be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. If they cannot take that step, they should as a minimum continue the present optional provision for such jurisdiction. Then we might hope that the "peace loving" states would exercise the option as the decent and constructive action for world security.

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Waging Peace *on the* Ether Waves

By EDGAR KOBAK

Radio has had its important wartime uses. But they are as nothing compared with the peacetime significance of radio as something that "belongs to the people" and can be made to serve the common good, says the President of Mutual Broadcasting. He suggests that radio must be universal, democratic, free, safeguarded as a vehicle of truth, a worthy educator.

WARSAW in September 1939, shelled, bombed, surrounded, had one remaining way of telling the outside world it was still resisting—the radio. When the repeated broadcasts of the opening bars of Paderewski's Polonaise fell silent, it was over.

The German conquests of France, Belgium and Norway were made easy by the *Angstkrieg*—the radio war of confusion and intimidation which preceded actual invasion.

Despair and silence enshrouded most of Europe in 1941. Then, from the BBC went out the "V" for Victory—the first four notes of Beethoven's Fifth—to be a symbol of liberation, an inspiration for budding undergrounds everywhere.

When Guam was retaken, after three years of Japanese possession, its first words to Pearl Harbor were, "This is Guam. Have heard nothing from you since 1941."

Radio is not all dramatic high spots. There is the routine day-by-day job of fighting the ideological war, keeping the armed forces informed and entertained, spurring the home front to increased effort.

In radio warfare, the United States made a late entrance into the field—later even than Britain's. For a long time we offered no opposition to the nazi propaganda aimed at this country; and only recently have we found our stride. Today we operate some thirty shortwave stations which beam our message to far places. The most powerful of these, located just outside Cincinnati, is called the "Bethany Transmitters." More significantly, it is known abroad as "The Voice of America."

No program ratings exist to tell how effectively our collective voices "get over"—but there are indications. For instance, Jan Karski, in his book, *The Secret State,* recounting the development and operation of the Polish Underground, refers to the electrifying effect of the broadcasts from WRUL, Boston, and the CBS shortwave station.

For the second category of the "day by day" job—that of keeping our own fighting forces informed and entertained—we have developed a widespread and effective machinery. There is, for example, ABSIE (American Broadcasting System in Europe); and there are the South Pacific stations, dotted along many of the islands we have reconquered. Typical station identification is "This is AES, your American Expeditionary Station in Noumea, New Caledonia, a member of the Mosquito Net-

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work." Their programs consist mostly of news (straight broadcasts and commentaries on developments on other war fronts); programs in the manner of "Report to the Nation," and music. In addition, our armed forces have a wide range of our domestic commercial programs beamed to them—their old familiar Jack Bennys, Roy Rogers and Bob Hopes.

What U. S. radio has done on the home front—the third division of radio's war job—is a well-known story. Radio's war effort has ranged from war bond drives to recruitment, from campaigns against inflation, the black market and waste, to programs designed to help bring home a deeper realization to each man and woman of the part he has to play in the total effort. This country's broadcasting industry and its sponsors have contributed over five hundred million dollars in time and talent to the nation's fight. Yet that is not the true measure. What matters is the resulting unity and willingness of the people to live up to their obligations.

"To Wage the Peace"

TODAY it is taken for granted that, like many a veteran of the war, radio will not doff its uniform once a peace has been written and signed. It will not return exclusively to its former major role of entertainer and salesman. Radio has discovered and developed potentials and techniques in far wider fields of human endeavor, and these it will not allow to lie fallow. There will be too urgent a need for radio and what it can accomplish.

As events unfold—at Dumbarton Oaks, at Yalta, in Chapultepec—the truth of the phrase to "wage the peace" sinks even deeper. And, in the words of Milton, "Peace has her victories no less renowned than war." Here is where radio can help. Must help. By helping the fight for peace.

In what direction shall the first step be taken? Sumner Welles, in his book, *The Time For Decision,* again and again makes the point that throughout the last quarter-century the United States should have taken certain actions, should have followed certain courses for world peace—and would have done so were it not that the people were totally unprepared for such actions

and courses, and in consequence the leaders did not dare move.

It seems unnecessary to argue that in the final analysis—in democracies or dictatorships—leaders do not move until their peoples are prepared.

Which takes us directly into the question: Are we prepared for the kind of peace that we say we want? And are we prepared to do the things which will be required of us if there is to be a lasting peace?

A lasting peace must have for prerequisites an effective *working unity* among nations, and the adequate *education* of the people in the responsibilities of peace. Toward this double objective, radio, as the most effective, pliable and far-reaching instrument, has much to contribute.

The same efficiency which the nations found in radio during their years of warring against one another, will also be found—but heightened and expanded—in the day when radio is put to work for a common end. And I can think of no medium better than radio for education: the presentation of facts, of ideas and relevant points of view, of considered interpretation, of inspiration and guidance.

It will be noticed that we have spoken throughout of radio as an instrument, a means of communication. It is not in the realm of those in radio to dictate the program over which it shall be an instrument, nor to say who will wield the instrument. On these subjects, we have some thoughts, but it is first necessary to examine the instrument and see what attributes and characteristics it possesses, and what others it

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must develop, before it can be considered at the peak of its efficiency to work for the maintenance of peace.

Six Attributes of Radio

I BELIEVE there are six such attributes—some far along in development, others showing need for improvement.

First: Radio must be universal. Statisticians tell us that of the thirty-four million families in the United States, over thirty million have radios. Which means that in this country, at any rate, you can reach almost everybody by radio. I have no figures for the rest of the world, but it seems safe to say that percentages are far lower, ranging down into practically no coverage at all in some sections of the world.

An important consideration is: how much do people listen to their radios? Again taking United States statistics, we find that in less than twenty-five years, radio has grown from nothing to an activity to which the average American family devotes more than five hours a day. How much listening there is elsewhere, we do not know. But it remains a fact that the amount of listening—the degree to which radio enters the lives of people—has a definite bearing on the effectiveness of radio.

Second: Radio must be democratic. The word is here used not in its political sense, but to mean "belonging to the people." Radio must be a channel of communication to all the people and not limited in its appeal to certain segments. This may sound like needless restating of a thoroughly accepted tenet, but the thought is recorded principally for its concomitant which is this; radio must be accessible and available to all who have anything of interest and importance to say and can speak with authority.

The networks and stations in the United States have as one of their cardinal principles, the equality of both sides, or all sides, of a controversial issue. This principle finds expression in forum programs and in the fact that sustaining time is given impartially to "pros" and "cons" alike.

By the same token, no person or group of persons with a legitimate right to the air, should be denied access to it—under one pretext or another; or by any maneuver.

Third: Radio must be free—in two directions. It must have freedom from censorship and be able to present facts and commentary without interference so long as the presentation stays within accepted laws and codes governing broadcasting. It must likewise be free to present such other material as may be in the best interests of the people. This is freedom of planning, programming and operation.

Radio must have freedom of transmission—to send programs wherever there are listeners, crossing national boundaries as necessary. Actually, there is no method of ruling that a radio signal shall not cross a river or an imaginary border line; equally, there is no way of enforcing an edict against listening to broadcasts originating outside a country. It is on record that even under penalty of death, the peoples in conquered and enemy countries, Europe and Asia, have defied Nazi and Japanese prohibitions against listening to American, British, Russian and other broadcasts foreign to them.

Fourth: Radio should be kept out of the cynical control of totalitarian dictators. If any support were needed for this contention, we have it in the use which Mussolini and Hitler made of radio, for without radio it is to be doubted that they could not have wrought such havoc upon the world.

There has been much talk about policing the enemy countries for decades after the war—particularly those activities concerned with building an establishment for war. Equally important is the policing of the enemy's radio. The Nazis recognized this truth when, by the terms of the armistice with France, they allowed that country to retain her Navy, but confiscated her radio facilities.

Fifth: Radio must be guarded as a vehicle for truth. The most effective way would seem to be for it to be kept so by the United Nations Security Council through laws which would guarantee a free radio in the interests of world peace.

A move in that direction was made in Mexico City when the Inter-American Organization Committee approved a resolution recommending free access to information by all the American states. A special *New York Times'* dispatch stated that the resolution recommends ". . . that the American republics recognize the essential obli-

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gation of democratic Government to assure to their people free and impartial access to information and that restrictions placed by censorship on the press and radio be abolished at the 'earliest possible time.' "

Sixth: Radio, in its role of educator for peace, must be made worth listening to.

The problem of making radio-for-education attractive to world audiences is not going to be easy to solve, but radio has in its favor the experience of nearly a quarter of a century of building programs to attract listeners. Radio also has at its disposal the devices of a number of the arts, principally music, the drama, "documentary reportage" and the techniques of the forum, the lecture platform and audience participation.

Techniques for Education

THE range of these techniques is indicated through the following examples:

1. Music is a powerful bond among peoples, an important cornerstone in the structure of mutual understanding. The Mutual Broadcasting System, not long ago, presented a series of broadcasts of the Mexico City Symphony, a fruitful gesture of international good will. The National Broadcasting Company, in its "Music of the Americas" series, has also done much to promote New World understanding.

2. Drama has long been accepted as one of the most effective ways of getting an idea "across." I recall particularly Stephen Vincent Benet's "Listen to the People"; Archibald MacLeish's "The Fall of the City" and Norman Corwin's "They Fly Through the Air."

3. Next, we have the forum and discussion programs, bringing together in one session the opposing or varying opinions of authorities on the major issues affecting the life and welfare of a nation.

4. Documentary reportage is exemplified by the broadcasts of the meetings of the New York City Council, over the city's own station, WNYC. It is estimated that these broadcasts built up a weekly audience of 1,000,000—a large proportion of whom considered them educational. Another straw in the wind: in the past session of Congress, a resolution was introduced calling for the broadcasting of the proceedings in both Senate and the House. Although not an immediate possibility, the idea may become reality for postwar education by radio.

5. And there is the "popularized" type of program in which many techniques are welded into an exciting entity. Along these lines is the current "project" of station WTAG, Worcester, Massachusetts, which seeks to promote understanding of the United Nations. Cooperating with the station are such groups as the Kiwanians, Rotarians and the Women's Club. And over all is the official blessing of the city fathers.

Summarizing the case for radio and its role in helping maintain World Peace II, we have these peak facts:

The maintenance of world peace has for its prerequisites, first, unity among nations; and second, the education of all peoples for peace.

Radio, which has proved a potent instrument in the waging of war, can be an even more effective instrument for peace.

Radio is an instrument, a method of communication, a vehicle for the substance of education. What that substance will be is not for the radio industry to say; rather, it is something to be worked out, planned for and directed by the leaders of the people—perhaps a special organization within the United Nations Security Council.

Will a blueprint be devised? Will the leaders set up the machinery for education? Will they plan to use radio as radio can be used? These questions may well come up for decision at the San Francisco Conference.

Coming Next Month

In the June issue of FREE WORLD, Fru Sigrid Undset, famous Norwegian novelist, historian and winner of the Nobel prize for literature gives her analysis of German character as it has developed throughout the history of the German people and of the problems of re-education that face the Allies. Her analysis is unusual and she has entitled it, "The Germans Are a United People."

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The Negro Looks Abroad

BY

MARTIN EBON

WHEN the American Negro lifts his eyes from the limits of his own existence, today and here, to look abroad at tomorrow and everywhere, he seems to be glancing into a magnifying mirror. Asia, Africa and Latin America seem over-familiar to him. They appear as close, as problems stated and unanswered, as does his own daily struggle for complete equality.

Color. That is the word which forms the link between America's Negro citizens and the men and women on those far-away continents which for the average white American or European mean no more than did Czechoslovakia to one Neville Chamberlain. They are "far-away" countries "of which we know nothing."

Color. That is the word which links the American Negro's microcosm of discrimination and racial intolerance with the microcosm of subjugation and dependence in colonial and reliant territories.

The American Negro sees his future linked with the fate of minority groups everywhere in the world. His peace aim is racial equality. His approach is growing ever more statesmanlike.

Minorities all over the world have come to interpret far-reaching developments in terms of their own existence. They ask: "Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, UNRRA, Crimean Conference, San Francisco Conference—what will they mean to me? Will they mean security and liberty and hope? Or just words, and more words?"

The American Negro's compassion for the peoples of Asia and Africa was mixed with hope when early this year a colored newspaperman reported from London that "a Soviet representative" had revealed that "Russia will demand racial equality at the peace table." Negro Americans read in their weekly papers that the members of a Russian peace delegation would seek "a clause pledging racial equality" for "all the non-European races of Asia, Africa and other continents and countries inhabited by colored people."

That is the American Negro's peace aim: racial equality.

Negro Americans have many times outlined the principles which, in their opinion, would insure world peace. Colored writers, educators, political leaders and other community heads have expressed their views on racial peace in the post-war world. The World Citizen's League, which has Negro as well as Korean, Chinese and Indian representatives in its executive committee, last year advocated the following four principles:

1. We affirm the right of nationality or cultural autonomy, however large or small the group;

2. We propose that the United Nations

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abolish imperialism, political and economic, and its attendant evils;

3. We believe that there should be equitable economic opportunities for all mankind;

4. We hope to create a world conscience that will see to it that all peoples everywhere are protected by their respective governments in the exercise of their world citizenship and basic human rights.

It is inevitable that such wide aims meet with frequent disappointment. One United States Negro paper, read by nearly a quarter of a million readers every week, the *Pittsburgh Courier,* recently expressed criticism of the Crimean Conference and its results. Writing editorially that "there is not one word in this historic document about the restoration of liberty, sovereignty to Burma, India, Java, Sumatra, Malaya, the islands of Oceania, and the numerous once-independent states of Africa," the paper summed up some of the so-far futile hopes expressed by American Negroes who view the world scene.

Hail Philippine Liberation

NEGRO Americans have joined their white fellow-citizens in hailing the liberation of the Philippine people, conscious of the fact that Philippine independence is surely on its way. But the same does not go for many of the other territories which have been liberated or are about to be freed from Tokyo's yoke. Frequently, America's Negroes are bitter in the extreme regarding imperialistic policies of the great powers.

British Commonwealth psychology is most frequently cited as an example of a way of thinking that requires modification. But Negro Americans are not blind to progress already made or under way. When early this year Colonel Oliver Stanley, British Secretary of State for Colonies, spoke before the Foreign Policy Association his remarks were received by colored observers as deeply encouraging. When an Anglo-Ethiopean agreement was reached in December, 1944, America's Negro community was heartened, although there were those who noted that Ethiopia still has to rely on certain British advisers.

It is not often, but at decisive moments colored Americans grow conscious of parallel struggles for complete liberty carried out by white nations. While many American Negroes were sharply critical of Britain's role during the civil war in Greece, there has always been profound admiration for the people of Britain, the plain people, who countered nazi weapons and threats so heroically.

Frequently, indeed, American Negro soldiers find in British homes the unfettered equality they had lacked in the United States and they write home praising British hospitality.

Such praise is in sharp contrast, however, to Negro criticism of Britain's role in India and elsewhere. India's fate is perhaps the most frequently discussed foreign topic among colored Americans.

Much that is written and spoken by Negro Americans regarding the fate and future of dependent and colored nations reveals strong emotions. But there is growing consciousness that in a world of power and opinion-molded events, words and emotions are not enough. Negro leaders urge constructive political activity.

John Robert Badger, writing in the Chicago Negro weekly, *Defender,* suggested that Negro Americans can change colonial abuses "less through indignant denunciation" than "by active political support of the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policies, by support of those responsible sections of United States big business which renounce the aims of themselves becoming masters" of colonial territories.

Colored observers noted with interest the newly-formed Division of African Affairs at the Department of State, and there appears to be general approval of the United States foreign policy with regard to colonies, mandated areas and dependent territories. Negro Americans are aware of the fact that American policy in this respect is pretty well formulated and is expected to be expressed at the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco.

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Two Sergeants Return Home

By Leo Lania

IT happened in a small town somewhere in Georgia. The bus was just about to leave. The driver took his seat, but before starting he turned around, looked all the passengers over and shouted:

"The sergeant must sit in the rear!"

All of us turned our heads. There—in the middle of the bus two sergeants were sitting side by side—a white and a colored boy.

The white sergeant occupied the seat closer to the aisle. He stood up and went to the rear, into the section "for colored people." He took a seat in the last row. He was a tall and handsome boy with quite a few ribbons on his chest. He seemed sleepy and in the placid mood of a man who had just enjoyed a good meal and a couple of drinks. The colored sergeant didn't move. He too had been overseas as his ribbon indicated.

"The sergeant must sit in the rear!" the driver shouted again.

The white sergeant opened his eyes and shouted back: "I am here."

"I am not talking to you!" the driver said.

The sergeant became angry: "What do you want then?"

"The colored sergeant must sit in the rear!" the driver ordered.

The colored sergeant got up and took a seat at the side of his comrade.

The driver was still not satisfied:

"The white sergeant must sit in front!"

No answer, no reaction on the part of the white boy.

This silent obstinacy embittered the driver. He left his seat and pressed through the crowd standing in the aisle.

"Hey, you sergeant. Sit in front!"

The sergeant looked at the driver without opening his mouth. Silence. Not one passenger stirred.

"Come in front."

At last the white sergeant spoke:

"Why?"

"Why? Don't you know we are in the South?"

"Want to teach me geography? I know where I am! I have been to more places than you would care to know and I sit here because I like it here. It's a free country, isn't it? Let's go. We are late anyhow."

Someone laughed. A few white passengers showed signs of nervous excitement. The colored people remained impassive as though the whole incident did not concern them at all.

The driver seemed at a loss. His face became red.

"Do you want to sit in front—yes or no?"

"No! And better get going, I don't want to miss my train."

The driver turned and left the bus, came back with an M.P. corporal.

But the corporal didn't enter the bus. He remained at the door, listening to the excited report of the driver. He seemed ill at ease and one could read his reaction from his somewhat bewildered face. He didn't know how to act. To see to it that colored people remain in the back section—that's one thing, but to force a white man—and a veteran on top of it—to sit in front when he wants to sit in the rear—it was obvious the M.P. never had been called on to solve such an unusual problem. He scratched his head. He nodded. He glanced into the bus—finally he shrugged.

The driver looked very puzzled. Then with an angry curse he jumped into the bus, sat down and pressed the starter.

The two sergeants looked at each other and smiled.

I think there is perhaps no stronger weapon against the ghost of the past than this smile of self-confidence I saw on the faces of the two young sergeants.

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LONDON LETTER:

European Peace — And San Francisco

—Star, London

BY

MARY SEATON

AS I write these five words engirdling as they do the fate of millions, thoughts of war as well as of peace saturate the British atmosphere. We stand on the brink of an Allied thrust into Germany's heart, with all its tremendous implications. It is doubtful if even V-day will bring the wild hilarity of November 1918. The destruction and want throughout Europe, the fact that Japan is yet to be defeated, both are sobering to victory excitement. The feeling that predominates is one of overwhelming relief and a realization that the job of rebuilding Europe and Britain is as great in its own way as winning the war.

Of prayers and hopes that accompany our men in their final push it is impossible adequately to write. Here one can feel them almost tangibly, for almost everyone has some friend or relative over there—the suspense before the Rhine breakthrough was almost unbearable. Everyone knew it was coming soon yet the lack of public or even private discussion about it was uncanny, as if all Britain had entered into a voluntary conspiracy of silence.

Even now with the news of Germany's imminent collapse, this disciplinary grip over the nation's emotions is not yet easing. Most poignantly is this shown by the bereaved. I know several who have men killed or injured and their self control is truly heroic. One wife of a young paratrooper husband who was killed in the Rhine crossing told me, "I do not even want the neighbors to know until I have worked out how to face things on my own. Tom would have hated fuss and we had both discussed beforehand what I should do if he was killed. We joked about it at the time, but felt it sensible to get things clear. I think there are too great things happening throughout the world to make much show of private grief just now, however one may feel. Besides it makes it easier to bear if one goes on as if nothing had happened."

This young wife is not a rare stoic. She is fairly typical of a generation which has matured under bombing, continual threat of bad battle news and strain of wearying war work. Hardly ever have I seen black mourning bands on civilian sleeves or signs of visible grief on the faces of passers by. This I'm told is in considerable con-

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trast to the more ostentatious grief of the last war. Civilians share this war more intimately with the fighters. The young men and women are closer comrades than ever before.

Our young men and women have seen through many shoddy prewar values and grasped what really counts in life. Meeting your American boys has given our young people ideas on how to live more entertainingly and productively, and they are going to demand more opportunities in peace. Many realize that life in postwar Britain depends largely on the state of the rest of the world, in which San Francisco will play a vital part. It is only truthful to add that public knowledge of what is going to take place there is poor, though potential interest is great.

There have been few popular articles or radio discussions as yet to help the ordinary people form opinions. And many, though interested in England's domestic affairs which will directly affect them, and though moved by the suffering in Europe, are not yet sufficiently world-minded to understand the implications of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks. How many Americans, I wonder, are like their British cousins in this?

All the same, the great mass of British people realize that future world peace depends upon continued friendship of the Big Three, and their desire for peace is very great. If there is not yet much country-wide interest in San Francisco, there is plenty in London's political, more thoughtful and diplomatic circles. The start-off does not seem too auspicious, with daily press rumors and counter denials of postponement. Also there are enough cross currents here to sink a battleship, from all shades of public reaction on the matter of Poland, to all hues and aspects of British Parliamentary feeling.

French Displeased

AMONG the latest aggrieved are the French, at the fact that their language is not going to be used at the San Francisco Conference. They are still touchy despite the success of the Bidault visit here, and are apt to be hurt at every pinprick. Also Evatt and other dominion representatives now here for the Empire Conference are at great pains to make clear that Britain does not possess multiple representation through the votes of the dominions. "Britain and four dominions will be separate, distinct, equal and autonomous members of the world organization," Evatt has impressed on reporters. This is true to some extent. Yet considering the influence Churchill exerts over dominion leaders it is scarcely to be expected that they will take any line contrary to his, or to the general postwar policies they all are now discussing.

Caretaker Government

THE big domestic topic now is the forthcoming election, definitely expected sometime this summer after the final defeat of Germany. Churchill has issued invitations to the leaders of all parties to join him in "caretaker" government, which will run the country between the dissolution of Parliament and polling day. Rank-and-file feeling in all parties is strongly against this. The only acceptance he has had are from liberal nationals who are at present a nonentity as a political force, and from Liberal Minister of Fuel, Major Gwilym Lloyd George, the son of Lloyd George. If the Tories win a majority, Churchill plans to form a second coalition, inviting "best men of all parties" to join him in the tremendous tasks of reconstruction. So far labor leaders are not pledged against such a second coalition, but party feeling would be very strongly against it.

Labor is convinced it has at last a real chance of coming to power. The issue before electors is going to be the clear-cut one of private versus public enterprise: in other words socialism, starting with nationalization of key industries and land, as against retention of these in private hands.

This coming electoral battle must be viewed as the British background to any efforts to feed and reconstruct Europe and to talks at San Francisco. And though labor is already largely committed in the matter of foreign policy, the outcome of the political battle is going to make a vast difference to future life in Britain.

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A MESSAGE TO FREE WORLD

BY

EDUARD BENES

President of Czechoslovakia

AFTER an absence of more than six years I am now going back to Czechoslovakia. My country is not yet entirely freed from the enemy. All our large cities—Prague, Bratislava and Brno—are still in the hands of the enemy. There is every indication that the Germans do not intend to retire from Bohemia, Moravia and Western Slovakia without a desperate struggle.

This attitude of the enemy merely strengthens our own resolve to build anew the foundations of Czechoslovak democracy without any delay. We know, at least, that the defeat of the enemy is absolutely certain and that, no matter what difficulty he deliberately creates for us before his final departure from our country, Czechoslovakia will be free again.

In this free country we shall re-establish a Parliament fully responsible to an adult electorate. We shall re-establish a government in turn fully responsible to Parliament. Czechoslovakia will once again be democratic from its very foundations.

Our task is not easy. All Carpatho-Ruthenia and most of Eastern Slovakia have already experienced the ravages of war. The enemy, as he retires from Bohemia and Moravia, will undoubtedly do all he can to aggravate economic and political conditions. But I do not believe that he will have any fundamental success. In spite of all the grim experiences of the past six years—ever since the fateful Ides of March, 1939—Czechoslovakia has retained her interior cohesion, and this will ensure a swift recovery for her as soon as the Germans have been driven out of the country. Within a month of the liberation of Prague, I am certain, Czechoslovakia will be in every sense a working State again.

But it will be a working State again solely because the leaders of the country are instinctively democratic in their outlook and policy. On this great and decisive issue leaders and followers think alike.

Hitler hated Czechoslovakia for two primary reasons. First, our Republic stood across his path in the military sense. Secondly, it stood across his path in the ideological sense. Hitler proclaimed the absolute sovereignty of the State: the individual existed solely for the State. In Czechoslovakia, as a democratic country, the State existed for the individual. No wonder Hitler hated us.

Today his ideology is trampled in the dust. It is our ideology which has triumphed. We accept the old catchphrase of the last war: "The cure for democracy is more democracy." We genuinely intend to make our restored Republic even more democratic than it was in the past. We shall have again a full adult electorate, a Government responsible to the Legislature, equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of access, freedom of the press. We mean to have, moreover, a far greater economic democracy than we had in the past.

We go back to Czechoslovakia to await the verdict of our own countrymen upon the manner in which we have conducted our resistance movement abroad ever since the Nazis made their first unlawful entry into Prague. We have also to face the verdict of the outside world. I am convinced that its verdict will be favorable. It will realize how faithful and how instinctive is our adherence to the democratic way of life.

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A WEATHER EYE OUT

Arabian nights: Scheherazade beguiles the fascist Caliph with a wondrous tale of how one German machine-gun demolished 300,917 Allied planes and one corporal captured a million Russian tanks.
—Kukriniksi (Russia)

The Barometer is at fair.
—Daily Mail (London)

Ghost of Napoleon: "Now is a good time to pack your valise."
—Igert (France)

"I saw the doctor about the swelling on my arm. He says it's my biceps."
—Daily Sketch (London)

Neck or nothing
—Herald (London)

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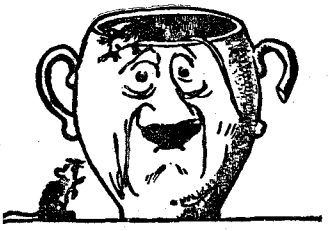
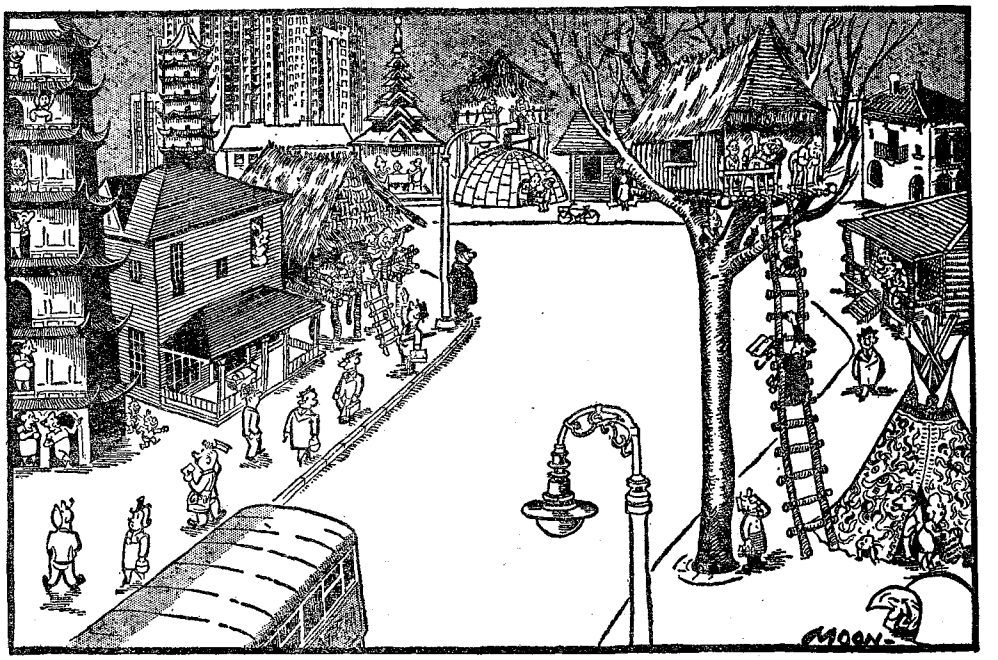
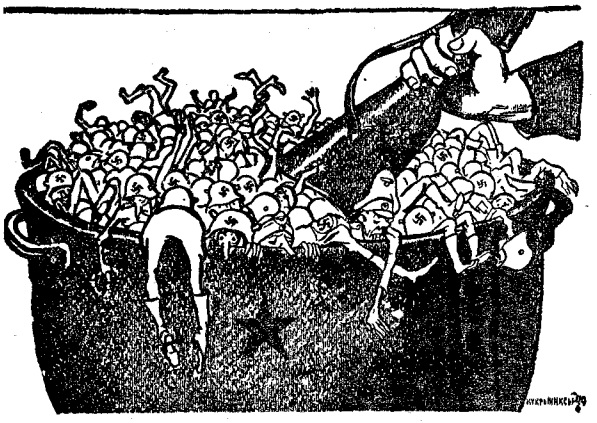
WITH THE CARTOONISTS



The empty pot at Berlin . . .



Britain, if all foreign countries help us with our housing problem. Both America and Sweden already are offering to send us houses.
—*Dispatch (London)*



. . . The full kettle at Berlin
—*Kukriniksi, Pravda (Moscow)*

"Why did you have to pick on me to take you prisoner?"
—*Evening News (London)*

"No—it's just that I'm expectin' a meeting of the Little Three shortly!"
—*Daily Mirror (London)*

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A WEATHER EYE OUT

"Many Germans are reluctant to give up their last suit to those who are destitute." — From the *Berliner Zeitung* —*Kukriniksi, Pravda (Moscow)*

"It is the hour for her to open her eyes!" —*Excelsior (Mexico City)*

"Help, help. Honorable Hitler fear that Honorable Hirohito give him the double cross." —*Jean Effel, Action (Paris)*

—by Illingworth.

No reprieve. —*Illingworth, Mail (London)*

«Ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικὸν διὰ νὰ συνεχίσῃ τὸν πόλεμον...»

"The King went abroad to continue the war . . ." —*Laokratia (Athens Daily)*

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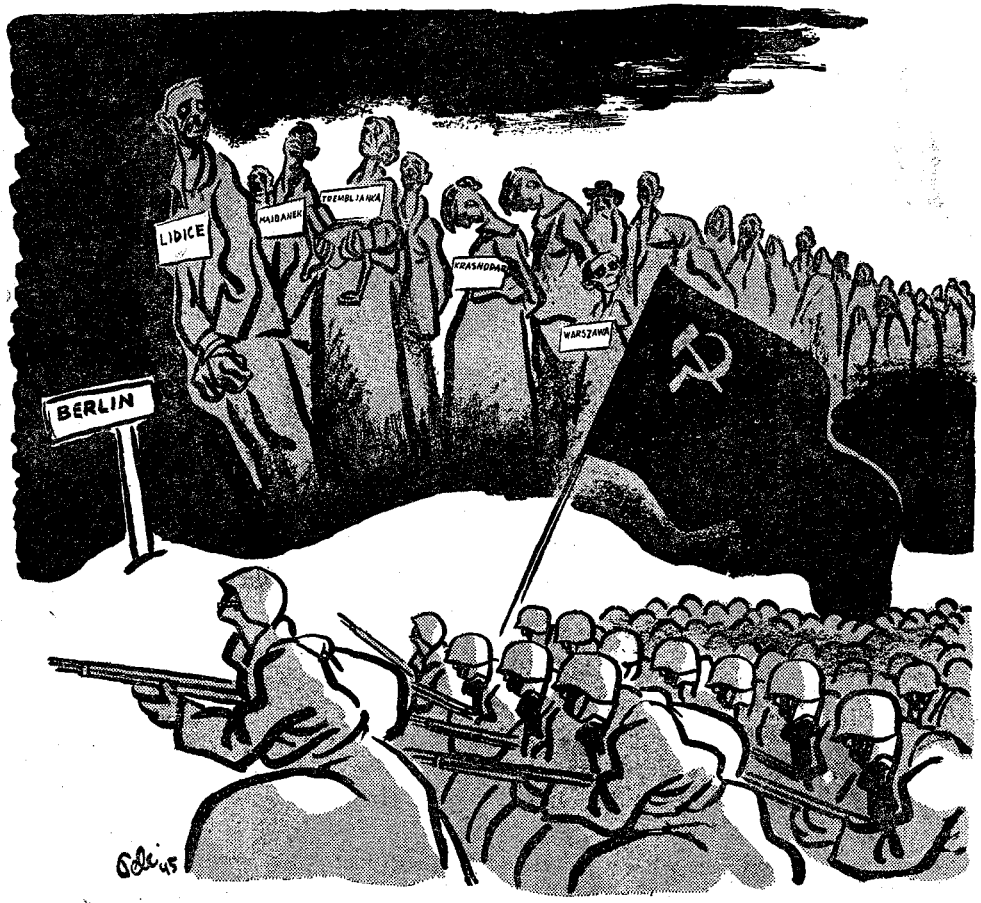
WITH THE CARTOONISTS



Closing in. —*Pelc (Czechoslovakia)*

"Send some more chains!"
—*Herald (London)*

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The Lesson Of The Italian Purge

BY

CARLO SFORZA

It is not enough merely to purge a nation of its fascists or its Nazis, this great statesman concludes. In countries that have been for long years under the régime of oppression, means must also be found of raising up new classes capable of assuming democratic leadership.

THE destruction of fascism and of its remnants is not only a duty toward Italy but toward the world. I have been in Italy at the head of the Sanctions against fascism from June 1944 to January 1945; I resigned because, having taken no part in the second Bonomi Cabinet, I did feel we should leave the responsibility of sanctions entirely to the Government. The purge was a national duty; it would have been unwise to create a purge administration independent from the Government; the main responsibility of the whole thing must rest with the Government. If they failed, it would be their own fault.

I have given the Italian people an account of my work; but now, mindful of the solidarity between myself and my American friends in the struggle against fascism, it seems appropriate to relate to them also the results of my work, the specific difficulties I encountered, the outlook for the purge in Northern Italy and the lesson we must draw from events that have occurred so far.

The work accomplished has been considerable, though I had at my disposal only Southern Italy where there never has been even a shadow of the fanatical and criminal fascism of Lombardy (Mussolini) and of the Po Valley (Grandi and Balbo). The very fact that the names of all those criminals, the Grandis, the Balbos, etc., come from the North proves that down South fascism was actually little more than a gigantic Tammany Hall at its worst.

Under my administration inquiries have been made into 3,000 cases. Approximately 1,500 cases have been completed and the findings submitted to the ordinary judicial agencies. To the High Court of Justice established by the same law which created my office, I referred those cases which, for their significance and for the high political responsibilities of the defendants, demanded public discussion before the entire nation.

The cases already decided or pending before the High Court are the following:

1. The trial of Caruso, the hyena of the fascist police in Rome, the man who furnished over 320 victims whom the Germans machine-gunned at the Ardeatine Caves. It was during this trial that the crowd lynched the director of the Rome prison. Much was made of the event; yet recently a French crowd at Dijon similarly lynched a chief of police, without any ensuing repercussions.

2. The trial of the generals who, not in high treason, but through incompetence and lack of initiative, abandoned undefended Naples to the command of the Germans.

3. The trial of the Governor of the Bank of Italy, guilty of having handed over the national gold reserve to the Germans. This

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trial convinces me of the "Christian" solidarity existing among banks, for I received in favor of Governor Azzolini, later sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment, many telegrams by American and Dutch bankers.

4. The trial of General Roatta, who succeeded in escaping on March 5, 1945; of Suvich, former fascist ambassador to Washington, and of many other high officials charged with having been involved in the murders of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, and later on, of Carlo and Nello Rosselli, who were killed by agents of Petain, but on Mussolini's and Ciano's orders.

5. The trial of a number of senators charged with having acted as paid spies. They intended to report on conversations by senators who did not approve of fascism.

6. The trial of the many judges of our infamous fascist Special Court.

7. The trial of Federzoni, Bottai, Grandi and other leading personalities who were instrumental in provoking the criminal fascist adventure.

8. Finally, the renewal of trials for the assassinations of anti-fascist political figures like Matteotti, Amendola, Di Vagno; or of anti-fascist priests, like Don Minzoni. These trials, under fascism, had been nothing but an obscene farce.

Severe Punishment

IN all the cases already terminated sentences have been severe but the defense had ample freedom to accomplish its task.

After my resignation as High Commissioner, it was Prime Minister Bonomi who took up that office. I trust he will open new trials, if he sees the possibility of doing so; but one must admit there have not been in the South further cases as atrocious as those I have already dealt with.

I must emphasize again that fascists existed, ferocious and beastly, for the most part only in the North, in the Po Valley and in Tuscany. But not in the South where the recurrent expression was not "so and so is a fascist," but "so and so is behaving like a fascist."

What has made things more complicated in Southern Italy is that the few fascists who do exist have tried to whitewash themselves, either by joining the Christian-Democrat or Communist parties, or by putting through to me elaborate charges against other wealthy fascists.

What has been more painful and difficult is the purging of government officials. I have never approved of the idea of punishing government officials for having become fascist under a pressure lasting twenty years, while people went unpunished who in 1922 or 1923 had given millions of lire to the fascist movement. Government officials of a period of twenty years of corruption have been nothing but the exterior symbols of the time: to punish them too much was to act as a physician who would go wild over pimples on the face rather than deal with the bad blood which had produced them. And then how could one attempt to pass a just judgment over a period of twenty years of life, with its ups and downs, its sins and remorses?

I have instead been implacable against the Senate, because this was made up of people who could not offer the excuse of need. I thus demanded the dismissal of 310 Senators. If I have left about a hundred quiet, it was not because they all deserved it. But it seemed advisable to leave at their posts a number of the least compromised ones, in order not to give the impression I wanted to destroy the Senate by a slash stroke, after having pledged to respect the constitutional truce until the summoning of a Constituent Assembly.

I am convinced that an Upper House is absolutely indispensable if a people is to rule itself in freedom. I feel equally certain—and all Italians likewise believe—that in the renewed Italy of tomorrow it will be necessary to radically transform a lifeless body, as the Senate has proved itself to be, under fascism. It has been a club "for life" of old government officials, old generals, old and young industrial leaders, old landowners. Many of these have been and remain personally honorable people, but the majority have ignored the fact that their office implied a high political responsibility, and not merely an honorary title and a reward.

What matters at present is what will be done up North. In the North defendants

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and officials will only have to answer one question: "Have you, yes or no, facilitated the criminal feats of the invader?" Punishments and epuration will be everywhere immensely easier and speedier than in Rome, where our conscience had at times to discriminate carefully one case from another. But however easier the task may be up there, the law should be made more rapid, for the purpose of avoiding that the peoples from the Lunigiana to the Brenner who have suffered martyrdom may take justice into their own hands.

This has already started. I know of things that have happened in Liguria, Lunigiana and the ancient Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, where a summary procedure has already brought about the execution of thousands of fascists.

Those are lands in which our gallant patriots risk their lives day and night, in their deadly struggle against Germans and fascists. I have already expressed the view that the juries for the quick prosecution of fascist criminals of the North should be made up of our patriots, under the supervision of regular judges.

Acted With Equity

PERSONALLY I do not feel I should be dissatisfied with my work, because from one side I have been accused of too much hardness and cruelty, and from another of not having hit enough. This was the proof that I acted equitably. Also in France the same thing occurred: the ones thought De Gaulle had hit too much, the others too little.

But what counts is neither an appreciation nor a reproach; when I first accepted my unpleasant office, I well knew I was only to be worried by my own conscience, and not by praise or criticism.

What counts is the teaching we must draw from an attempt at the epuration of fascism, the Italian kind, which was soon after followed by a second attempt of another form of fascism in France.

The lesson to be learned, in my opinion, is this one: that Italian fascism, like French fascism or Petainism and—in much more horrible proportion—like German nazism—have been (and to a certain extent still are) social diseases which cannot be cured with trials and sentences, but only with deep and far-reaching transformations. By this I do not mean to say there should be no trials and sentences and dismissals; such things certainly must exist, and I have, for my part, ordered and authorized many. To at once hit at and punish any known crime was a duty toward justice and a healthy lesson for all adventurers and criminals. But I must confess I have been seized now and then by many intimate moral doubts when it was a question of chasing away and reducing to misery some poor government clerks, overladen with family, just because they had been brazen-faced servants of fascism, which they believed after so many years to be a quite definitive form of political settlement. Even today I ask myself, looking backward for Italy and forward for France, if there is not a certain amount of hypocrisy in wanting to attack the members of our civil service as the principal responsibles.

The true epuration of Italy, of France and still more of Germany is a quite different one: it is the reconstruction of a political ruling class. After a dictatorship —wrote Cardinal de Retz three centuries ago—a nation wakes up without new classes who can lead it. This is the problem of Italy and France; this is what we must work at in both countries. With a little bit of courage, faith and imagination up on top, the right action would be easy in the two Latin countries. The crisis we are trying to get out of and which is still holding us in its grip, is not only the consequence of the criminal fascist adventure, but also of still older errors and of more odious egotisms—more odious because better concealed—inside the Italian democracy of the past and inside France. It is exactly because the crisis was deep that sharp and intense must be the renewal.

To punish fascist criminals is but the first part of this great work: an important part, a necessary part, but a vain one, unless it is followed by a general willingness for a true social and moral renewal.

I am not, with this, contemplating a revolution. I am thinking on the contrary of how to avoid it; and I can see no other way than this, at least for an ancient people like ours: extreme fearlessness and boldness in the political conception, speedy but gradual wisdom in the application of it.

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Free World Recommends

A Charter For The United Nations

THE treaty-making at San Francisco is no longer a problem only for government delegates, diplomats and experts. The experience of the League of Nations in Geneva has proved that without active participation of public opinion, without understanding of what is going on in international conferences, any kind of international organization will always be threatened.

Therefore, the Editors of FREE WORLD have given much thought to the best ways of supplying the reader with a measuring-rod by which he can learn the terminology and technique of the making of an international treaty.

Of course, every reader will realize that a treaty is always the result of the will of many nations and governments, and that its essential method is one of trying to find the common denominator on which all can agree. The true diplomatic art of democratic governments is to make that common denominator fit—to the greatest extent possible—basic principles. Otherwise the risk of a compromise would prove too dangerous.

After consultation with statesmen and leaders of public opinion in various United Nations, FREE WORLD has prepared a complete draft of an agreement which includes the various essentials for a permanent world organization. Unfortunately, paper rationing does not permit us to present this draft in its entirety, as we should have liked. We have, however, chosen a few essential subjects which we know are of major interest to anyone thinking of a truly free world, and we present in the following pages, in treaty form, our recommendations.

In choosing as the first Chapter, "The Rights of Every Man," we realize that basically these and other rights can only exist if the world organization, the security system and the continued unity of the United Nations, does exist. If, at the San Francisco conference and after, the forces of world cooperation are strong enough to reach the basic agreements on security, on economic cooperation and on

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mutual defense against aggression, then we believe that the application of a concept along the lines of our text will become more and more possible at San Francisco or immediately afterwards.

We have also devoted a chapter to the functioning of the Secretariat and to the main aims of the United Nations.

The Constitution of the United Nations should begin with a Preamble which clearly expresses the determination of the United Nations to work together in all fields which are of common interest.

Here is our suggestion:

Preamble

We, the people of The United Nations, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice between nations, create and preserve peace, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure to ourselves and our descendants the blessings of freedom from fear and from want, freedom of thought and of worship, do establish this Constitution for The United Nations.

Chapter I—THE RIGHTS OF EVERY MAN

ARTICLE 1

The individual man, woman and child is the cornerstone of culture and civilization. He is the subject, the foundation, the end of the social order. Upon his dignity, his liberty, his inviolability, depend the welfare of the people, the safety of the state and the peace of the world.

In society complete freedom cannot be attained. An individual possesses many rights but he may not exercise any of them in a way which will destroy the rights of others. No right exists in isolation from the other rights. The liberties of one individual are limited by the liberties of others, and by the just requirements of the democratic state. The preservation of the freedom of the individual requires not only that his rights be respected, preserved and defended but also that he respect, preserve and defend the rights of others by fulfilling his duties as a member of society.

The state exists to serve the individual. He does not exist to serve the state. The state exists to promote conditions under which he can be most free.

To express those freedoms to which every man is entitled and to assure that all men shall live under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, this declaration is made.

Every individual human being, irrespective of race, color, creed, nationality, citizenship, civil status, language, wealth, birth, culture, sex, professed beliefs or opinions, possesses the right to:

One, Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;

Two, Education;

Three, Equality of opportunity, equality before the law and equal protection by the law and by the police;

Four, Freedom of belief and of worship;

Five, Freedom to form and hold opinions and to receive opinions and information;

Six, Freedom of expression;

Seven, Freedom to assemble peaceably with others;

Eight, Freedom to form with others associations of a political, economic, religious, social, or cultural character and on a local, a national or an international basis;

Nine, Employment under reasonable conditions of work in the occupation in which he can use the fullest measure of his skill and attainments and make

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his greatest contribution to the common well-being;

Ten, Payment for his work in accordance with its quantity and quality and in accordance with the necessity of ensuring to all men adequate food, clothing and housing and a just share of the fruits of progress;

Eleven, Material security in old age, in sickness and in other like adversity;

Twelve, Adequate protection by the law and by the police against the propagation of envy, hatred, malice, contempt, derision, and exclusiveness based on real or assumed differences in race, color, creed, nationality, language, wealth, birth, or culture;

Thirteen, Adequate protection by the law and by the police against any lying, slandering, or misrepresentation that may distress or injure him;

Fourteen, Adequate protection by the law and by the police of his personal property in his income from work and in his savings, in his dwelling house and auxiliary husbandry, in his household articles and utensils and in articles for his personal use and comfort, and the right to bequeath and inherit such personal property;

Fifteen, Adequate protection by the law and by the police, of himself and his lawfully acquired personal property from private violence, deprivation, compulsion and intimidation;

Sixteen, Freedom from subjection to bodily assault, except in restraint of his own violence, to torture and to other arbitrary violence by the police;

Seventeen, Freedom from detention or imprisonment for a longer period than six days without being charged with a definite offense against the law, or for more than three months without a fair public trial by a competent tribunal before which he has had opportunity for a full hearing, unless a competent public authority, after public notice and hearing, finds that he is a danger to himself and to others through mental abnormality, a finding which must be confirmed annually;

Eighteen, Freedom from subjection to imprisonment with such an excess of silence, noise, light or darkness as to cause mental suffering and to imprisonment in infected, verminous or otherwise insanitary quarters or with verminous or infectious people;

Nineteen, Freedom from subjection to punishment more extreme than death or rigorous imprisonment for not more than twenty years;

Twenty, Freedom to visit any part of the world unless he has been proved guilty of a criminal offense;

Twenty-one, Participation in the governing process of the state of which he is a citizen.

Each member state undertakes to preserve, respect and defend these rights.

ARTICLE 2

The General Assembly shall establish a Committee on the Rights of Every Man. The Committee shall be a permanent body responsible to the General Assembly. The appropriate section or sections of the Secretariat of The United Nations shall constitute the staff of the Committee.

ARTICLE 3

The Committee on the Rights of Every Man shall:

1. Carry out the directions of the General Assembly and discharge the duties and obligations which are laid on it by this Constitution;

2. Consult with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council on matters of common concern;

3. Submit annual reports to the General Assembly;

4. Submit to the General Assembly recommendations and draft conventions for the better protection of the rights of every man;

5. Report confidentially to any member state any apparent failure by it to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter;

6. Report to the General Assembly, through the Secretary-General, any persistent and wilful failure by any member state to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter.

ARTICLE 4

The Secretary-General shall immediately publish and transmit to the member states

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any report made under the provisions of paragraph (6) of Article 3. The General Assembly shall, within six to twelve months of the receipt of the report by the Secretary-General, consider the report at one or more public sessions, unless in the meantime the Committee on the Rights of Every Man informs the Secretary-General that the member state concerned is no longer guilty of persistent and wilful failure to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter.

ARTICLE 5

The General Assembly shall have power, by a two-thirds vote including the concurring votes of two-thirds of the members of the Security Council and of two-thirds of the members of the Economic and Social Council, to declare that a member state against which a report has been made by the Committee on the Rights of Every Man, under the provisions of paragraph (6) of Article 3, is guilty of a persistent and wilful failure to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter; such a declaration may be accompanied by a suspension of the guilty state from any or all the rights and privileges which that state possesses under this Constitution but the suspension shall in no way affect the obligations of that state under this Constitution. The General Assembly shall have power to restore the rights and privileges thus suspended.

Chapter II—THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

ARTICLE 1

The United Nations is established to:

1. Create and preserve peace between the nations so that every man may live out his life free from the fear of war;
2. Promote the material well-being of all men so that every man may live out his life free from the fear of want;
3. Guard and enlarge the rights of every man and especially his right to freedom of thought and freedom of worship;
4. Provide effective means for so dealing with all disputes between states that the world's peace is not put in jeopardy;
5. Lessen the number and gravity of disputes between states by promoting the establishment and maintenance of effective international bodies and agencies through which each state may cooperate with all other states to solve its political, economic, social and humanitarian problems, with benefit to itself but without injury to any other state;
6. Prevent and remove threats to the world's peace;
7. Suppress acts of aggression and threats of aggression by one state against another state;
8. Put down breaches of the world's peace;
9. Provide a center at which the nations of the world may pool their efforts, their resources and their intelligence in order to accomplish these purposes and thus bring peace on earth to men of goodwill.

Charter III—THE SECRETARIAT

ARTICLE 1

The headquarters of the Secretariat shall be established at the seat of The United Nations. The Secretariat shall comprise the Secretary-General and other personnel of The United Nations.

ARTICLE 2

The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly for a term of three years. He may be reappointed. His appointment may be terminated at any time by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 3

The Secretary-General shall be the chief executive officer of The United Nations. He shall be secretary of the General Assembly, of the Committee on the Rights of Every Man, of the Security Council, of the Military Staff Committee, of the Economic and Social Council and of the Committee on the Rights of Non Self-Governing Peoples. He shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of The United Nations and of the bodies and agencies brought into relationship with The United Nations. He may bring to the

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attention of the General Assembly or the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and well-being.

ARTICLE 4

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall determine the method of appointment and of termination of appointment, the training, and the salaries, allowances, and conditions of service of the Secretary-General, the President of the Economic and Social Council and other personnel of The United Nations, and may employ or make use of the services of nationals of any member state.

ARTICLE 5

The President of the Security Council, the President of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General, the Judges of the International Court of Justice, and other personnel shall not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge of their responsibilities from any authority external to The United Nations. Each member state undertakes fully to respect the international character of the responsibilities of these persons and not to seek to influence any of its nationals in the discharge of their responsibilities.

ARTICLE 6

Each member state undertakes to accord to the President of the Security Council, the President of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General, the Judges of the International Court of Justice, and the other personnel of The United Nations, the immunities and privileges set forth in Annex B.* If a general international agreement on the immunities and privileges of international civil servants is arrived at, the immunities and privileges accorded to the persons mentioned above shall be the immunities and privileges accorded under that general international agreement.

* Not printed.

Chapter IV—PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

ARTICLE 1

In order to prevent international disputes from breaking out the Security Council shall investigate any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to an international dispute. Any state, whether a member of The United Nations or not, or the President of the Security Council may draw the attention of the Security Council to the situation by giving notice of its existence to the Secretary-General. The Security Council shall, after prompt investigation, publish a report on the situation, setting forth the facts and the steps which it recommends should be taken to remedy the situation. The member states undertake to give the Security Council every possible assistance in making its investigation.

ARTICLE 2

In order to carry out the pledge which the member states mutually give and receive in joining the United Nations that they will settle all their disputes by peaceful means so that the world's peace is not put in jeopardy, each member state undertakes, if it is a party to a dispute with another state or states,

First, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means, and

Second, if these efforts fail, to refer the dispute to the Security Council.

ARTICLE 3

The Security Council shall, if necessary, remind the parties to a dispute of their undertaking to seek a solution by peaceful means, and it may, at any stage of a dispute, recommend to the parties appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

ARTICLE 4

As soon as any party to a dispute gives notice to the Secretary-General of the existence of the dispute, the Security Council shall acquire jurisdiction over the dispute.

ARTICLE 5

If the Security Council decides to take

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jurisdiction over a dispute between states, whether members of The United Nations or not, it may do so even though none of the parties to the dispute has given notice to the Secretary-General of the existence of the dispute. Any state, whether a member of The United Nations or not, or the President of the Security Council, may draw the attention of the Security Council to a dispute by giving notice of its existence to the Secretary-General.

ARTICLE 6

As soon as the Security Council assumes jurisdiction over a dispute the Secretary-General shall make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration of the dispute and the parties to the dispute shall communicate to the Secretary-General, for immediate publication by him, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers. The member states undertake to give the Security Council every possible assistance in making its investigation.

ARTICLE 7

The Security Council may refer to the International Court of Justice any dispute over which it has assumed jurisdiction which can be settled on the basis of rules of law. The Security Council may also refer to the Court any aspect of any dispute over which it has assumed jurisdiction if this aspect can be settled on the basis of rules of law. The Security Council may request an advisory opinion from the Court on any dispute over which it has assumed jurisdiction or on any aspect of any such dispute.

ARTICLE 8

The Security Council shall use its best efforts to effect a prompt, just and proper settlement of any dispute over which it has assumed jurisdiction. If its efforts are successful the Secretary-General shall publish, in accordance with instructions given him by the Security Council, an appropriate statement of the facts of the dispute and of the terms of settlement.

ARTICLE 9

If, within one year after assuming jurisdiction over a dispute, the Security Council has been unable to effect a settlement, the Security Council shall draw up and publish a report or reports setting forth the facts of the dispute and recommendations for a just and proper settlement. The members of the Security Council shall make every effort to reach agreement on a report which all of them, other than the parties to the dispute, can sign. If they cannot so agree, majority and minority reports shall be published.

ARTICLE 10

In transmitting to the states parties to the dispute the report or reports referred to in the preceding Article, the Secretary-General shall remind each state of its undertakings to settle its international disputes by peaceful means so that the world's peace is not put in jeopardy and not to use force or threaten to use force against any other state or states for any purpose or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of The United Nations or with the provisions of this Constitution.

Chapter V—NON SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ARTICLE 1

An international interest is involved in the administration of non self-governing territories by individual states. The member states which administer non self-governing territories therefore recognize that they are accountable to the world community for the conduct of their administration, for the well-being of the peoples of the territories, and for the progressive development of these peoples toward self-rule.

ARTICLE 2

Each member state which administers non self-governing territories undertakes, so far as the territories under its administration are concerned, to:

1. Protect the civil rights of all the inhabitants;

2. Maintain, so far as may be in the interest of the inhabitants, general equality of economic opportunity, including access

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to raw materials and markets and opportunity for investment;

3. Eliminate abuses such as slavery and the slave trade, forced labor, and compulsory recruiting;

4. Promote the welfare of the inhabitants and in particular to adopt measures to encourage their fullest possible employment under conditions which will protect their physical and moral well-being, and prevent their economic exploitation;

5. Insure broad systems of mass education, designed to eliminate illiteracy, to prepare the people for the management of their own political and economic affairs, and to train them in skills in order that they may be able to compete on equal terms with the other peoples of the world;

6. Associate the inhabitants progressively and to the fullest extent possible with the management of the political and economic life of the territory in which they live.

ARTICLE 3

Each member state which administers non self-governing territories undertakes to file annually with the Secretary-General of The United Nations, in accordance with rules laid down by the General Assembly of The United Nations, a full report on the measures which it has taken to carry out the undertakings which it has given under Articles 1 and 2 on how far these measures have proved effective and on what further measures it proposes to adopt in order better to carry out its undertakings.

ARTICLE 4

The General Assembly shall establish a Committee on the Rights of Non Self-Governing Peoples. The Committee shall be a permanent body responsible to the General Assembly. It shall be composed of impartial experts. No member of the Committee shall be actively associated with the administration of any non self-governing territory. No member shall seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge of his responsibilities from any authority external to The United Nations. The appropriate section or sections of the Secretariat of The United Nations shall constitute the staff of the Committee.

ARTICLE 5

The Committee on the Rights of Non Self-Governing Peoples shall:

1. Receive, consider and publish the reports of the member states filed under the provisions of Article 3;

2. Carry out the directions of the General Assembly and discharge the duties and obligations which are laid on it by this Constitution;

3. Consult with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council on matters of common concern;

4. Submit annual reports to the General Assembly;

5. Submit to the General Assembly recommendations and draft conventions for the better protection of the rights of non self-governing peoples;

6. Report confidentially to any member state any apparent failure by it to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter;

7. Report to the General Assembly, through the Secretary-General, any persistent or wilful failure by any member state to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter.

ARTICLE 6

The Committee may, subject to the approval of the General Assembly, create subordinate committees on a regional or other basis and define groups of states with or through which it may deal to facilitate the carrying out of the aims of this Chapter.

ARTICLE 7

The Secretary-General shall immediately publish and transmit to the member states any report made under the provisions of paragraph (7) of Article 5. The General Assembly shall, within six to twelve months of the receipt of the report by the Secretary-General, consider the report at one or more public sessions, unless in the meantime the Committee on the Rights of Non Self-Governing Peoples informs the Secretary-General that the member state concerned is no longer guilty of persistent or wilful failure to carry out its undertakings under this Chapter. The General Assembly may, by a two-thirds vote, express its concurrence in whole or in part in the report of the Committee.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

SIR NORMAN ANGELL, British by birth, is a true internationalist by education, background and vision. As a boy he attended school in France and in Geneva, Switzerland. Then he jumped to the United States where he spent some years of his youth in the West, first ranching and prospecting, later going into newspaper work. He returned to Europe sometime around the turn of the century to serve as correspondent for American newspapers, and presently joined the staff of the *Eclair* in Paris. A few years later he was general manager of the Paris edition of the London *Daily Mail.* The year 1929 found him a Laborite member of Parliament and about that time he became a member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and also co-president of the Comite Mondial Contre La Guerre et Le Fascism. In 1933 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

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The message in this issue from President *EDUARD BENES* of Czechoslovakia was written at the moment of his return to his country after six years absence, much of which had been spent in the United States. BENES was a close personal friend of the late President Masaryk and has played an important role not only in the affairs of Czechoslovakia but in those of the world. Delegate to the Peace Conference in 1919 and to the League of Nations from 1920 on, he was a co-founder of the Little Entente and was the author of the Geneva Protocol, 1924. He was Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935, when he was elected President.

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MARTIN EBON came to the United States in 1938 from Germany, where he was a newspaper and magazine editor in Berlin. In New York City, he has edited the *Weekly Survey of the Negro Press,* published by Transatlantic Press Service. He has recently written feature articles on European and Near Eastern affairs for the *Christian Science Monitor.* His articles on German problems have been syndicated by the Overseas News Agency, where he also acted as managing editor of the Foreign-Language Division. MR. *EBON* is at present in government service. However, the opinions expressed in his articles are entirely his own.

HOWARD O. EATON is professor of philosophy at the University of Oklahoma. During the war years he has been on a leave of absence from his teaching duties in order to serve as a research economist in the United States Department of Commerce in Washington. His principal publications have been in the field of the philosophical and ethical implications of such major catastrophes as unemployment, war and international cartels. He asks us to make clear that the opinions expressed in his article are personal and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Commerce.

• • •

A great many newspapermen have learned their craft from *ROSCOE ELLARD* who reviews two books on Russia in this issue. We asked *ELLARD* to tell us more about himself and here is what he replied: "I was trained in reporting and rewrite work on the *Chicago Daily News* when Victor Lawson was publisher and some great teachers were my managing editor, Henry Justin Smith, and my fellow reporters, Harry Hansen, Carl Sandburg, Ben Hecht, Paul Leach and Paul Scott Mowrer. Sandburg used to lean over my typewriter and rumble, 'Think twice, young man, before you use an adjective.' Ben Hecht used to grin and say, 'Just use a helluva lot of verbs—verbs that make the paper curl.' Leach used to say, 'For God's sake, leave my scissors alone' Harry Hansen was always gentle and friendly and scholarly. He told me once the recipe for a book review. I still guard it as the best trade secret I ever heard."

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Widely known as a leading exponent of the new international law, *MANLEY O. HUDSON* has long been indefatigable in his support of international cooperation and of international organization to make it effective. His activity is fortified by a ripe scholarship and a rich experience. Since 1923, he has been the Bemis Professor of International Law at Harvard Law School; since 1933, a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; since 1936, a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice. He has recently completed a timely and readable study, *International Tribunals, Past and Future,* published by Brookings Institution.

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EDGAR KOBAK has been president of the Mutual Broadcasting System since last November, having formerly been a vice-president of the Blue Network and of the National Broadcasting. *KOBAK* started his career in the engineering department of the Georgia Railway and Power Company of Atlanta, following his studies at Georgia Tech. He joined NBC as a vice-president in charge of sales in 1934, left it for a time, but was called back to assist in setting up the Blue Network. To him goes much of the credit for building that organization.

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R. W. G. MACKAY who writes for this issue on the relationship between the San Francisco Conference and world trade is a prominent British business leader, the director of six British companies and a housing firm and the author of *Federal Europe, Peace Aims and the New Order,* and *Coupon or Free?* Although he and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. have looked at world trade in the postwar era from different backgrounds and from different parts of the globe, the reader will find a considerable degree of agreement in what these two men have to say.

• • •

THOMAS MANN, famed German author and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, is now an American citizen. He writes in this issue of his late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Only two months ago, in our March issue, *MANN* wrote of the approaching end of humanity's enemy, Hitler.

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PHILIP MURRAY, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has demonstrated a broad knowledge of national and international problems. In wartime he has shown himself a patriotic and reliable leader of America's millions of workers whose desire is to see the war won and to go forward into a postwar era of peace and security. *MURRAY* was born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1886, but came to the United States in 1902, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1911. In 1912 he became a member of the international board of the United Mine Workers of America and in 1920 was elected international vice-president. He has been president of the CIO since November 1940.

When *COUNT CARLO SFORZA* left this country in November 1943, he promised FREE WORLD readers that his main preoccupation would be to work with the democratic and Underground forces of Italy to help establish a strong movement for the restoration of peace and freedom. This world-renowned statesman now describes his efforts while serving as High Commissioner of Sanctions in the first Bonomi government.

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The life story of *ALFRED P. SLOAN, JR.,* Chairman of General Motors Corporation, parallels the span of years in which the automobile has been developed. He was born in 1875 in New Haven, Connecticut, son of an old upstate New York family. At twenty he was graduated from M.I.T., the youngest of his class, and began work as a draftsman with the Hyatt Roller Bearing Company in Newark, which soon afterward began to turn out bearings for the early automobile manufacturers. Thus, from the start *SLOAN'S* activities brought him into direct contact with automobile leaders, and gave him an opportunity to learn the many phases of the automobile business. In 1916 he was named President of the United Motors Corporation, which later became a part of General Motors Corporation. In May 1923 he was elected President of General Motors.

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In the annals of labor leaders there are few stories more colorful than that of *R. J. THOMAS.* Born in East Palestine, Ohio, in 1900, he studied at Wooster College in that state and in 1922 became an automobile worker, rapidly rising in the leadership of the workers in the auto plants and becoming one of the founders of the UAW-CIO, which he has headed since 1939. In wartime, in addition to his work as vice-president of the National Executive Board of the CIO, Mr. *THOMAS* has served the nation as an employee-member of the War Labor Board.

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BOOKS

Russia — Bad and Good Reporting

REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS, by William L. White. Harcourt, Brace. 309 pages. $2.50

RUSSIA IS NO RIDDLE, by Edmund Stevens. Greenberg. 300 pages. $3.00

THESE books differ sharply, in background and in point of view. Both are intimate personal experiences. Both are fast-moving, vivid, readable. Perhaps they balance each other. Certainly they raise a point about the deluge of books that "report on" other countries. The point has a bearing on international relations, possibly on peace itself.

"Being friends with the Russians," writes Edmund Stevens, "is far preferable to fighting them. Differences of background, custom, and outlook are bound to cause snags and irritation. We should build our policy on the things we have in common rather than on the points of disagreement. Anyone who deliberately sets out to pick a quarrel with Russia can always find a pretext.

"That applies to every individual citizen's dealings with his next-door neighbor or the members of his own family. In international as in personal relations there must always be a measure of give and take, a shock-absorber of tolerance, an allowance for the other fellow's (or nation's) peculiarities. It's either that—or good-by humanity."

Stevens, a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, lived in Russia for six years. He was official interpreter for Churchill in Moscow and a member of the Willkie party in Russia.

William L. White's book is a sprightly report on his six weeks' trip with Eric Johnston. He visited Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Alma-Alta, and Tashkent. His impressionism starts with a suspicious account of double doors at the Soviet consulate. The keyholes did not coincide. No one, he observed, could possibly listen through both keyholes at once.

American hotels have double doors, and few officials in time of war fail to guard their office conversation. But White reports that after closing these Soviet portals, one feels "like a rat emerging from a Yale University maze."

He says the consul "spoke creaky, schoolbook English." He might have spoken resonant Russian, had White, about to embark on a journey for Russia, been able to understand him.

White writes well. His book has delightful anecdote, incisive profiles, pungent dialogue. He records factory-tour conversations between Eric Johnston and plant managers with the trained reporter's flair for digest and clarity. But, true to the ways of writers' art, his opening strikes the keynote for his opus—a keynote of suspicion.

An Incompetent Report

HE dwells on the shabby clothing of war-wracked Russians at musicales in Moscow. But they proved capable of great sacrcifice and of great enough production to turn the tide in a great war. And they listened to fine music. No report on a people is competent which reports only the mean and drab when much else exists.

The trouble is that we understand Russia and the Russians less than we understand any other major power. Yet Russia and her people are factors of extreme importance for Americans and the world. They are factors we shall have to deal with. And the Soviet concept of economics and their plan of government have led to plenty of preconception. We regard all foreign merchandise as good, all foreign politics as bad; particularly Russian. There should be no prejudice on either side, but we could do with a bit of backgrounded clarity.

To write about another country imposes the moral obligation to be comprehending and fair. You can excoriate domestic politicians in this morning's volume and have cocktails most amicably with them this afternoon. But not so with foreign nations. Ride blindly in the alien corn and you goad the deep-rooted folkways of patriotism.

This does not suggest that realistic pictures should be avoided. It means that balanced pictures with full *chiaroscuro* should be the aim. Misunderstanding goes beyond the right of free reporting.

Between the two World Wars, Charles Levermore won the Bok Peace Prize. He proposed that we outlaw war, proscribe munitions, and effect international cooperation. But the night before the Bok announcement, Dean George

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Collie, a distinguished scientist, tossed off a principle of world peace that landed on the front pages of three continents. It is prerequisite to any machinery of peace.

"You can have peace conferences until the cows come home," said Archeologist-Explorer Collie, "but as long as men misunderstand each other, they will hate each other; and as long as they hate each other, they will go to war."

He went on to dream of an educational melting-pot for his quiet and conventional Beloit College. Selected youth from the Orient, the Americas, Europe and Africa, and from local stops within them and between, could study in the ivyclad buildings. They could fraternize with each other and learn of the contributions each race has made to the civilization in which we live.

His ideal of understanding appealed to everyone. His idea of applying it jarred some nostalgic alumi to their foundations. Protests came in a-plenty.

Theories and the practice of international understanding are apt to clash that way pretty generally; more often from the preconceptions of adults than from the friendly tolerance and curiosity of youth. A deliberate effort must be made to discover our points of agreement, as Mr. Stevens suggests, and to comprehend the reason for others' points of view.

White Lacked Understanding

We need not sponsor a political theory or an economic system in order to evaluate the human qualities of a people, their courage and their aspirations. Once upon a time, there was an Industrial Revolution, and we have gone apace with electricity and gasoline and scientific invention and mass production. We are a world of two billion persons.

It is a world crisscrossed with interdependent channels of trade. We have to work together, or we upset the global chain of apple trucks. Until we understand each other, we shall distrust and hate each other. Until we try deliberately to understand, with a free flow of adequately backgrounded information, we shall *not* understand.

White needed more time, more perspective for the job that readers expected on the basis of his gifted previous performance.

Stevens' book *Russia Is No Riddle* is thoughtful and fair-minded. He went to Russia to study it and remained for years to report it for an American newspaper and to marry a Russian schoolteacher on a collective farm. He has criticisms of Russia, but they are factual and understanding. His review of Soviet strategy on the diplomatic chessboard of Europe explains a good many things—not only occurrences of the last decade but Russian attitudes in the news today.

He tells, for instance, how General Anders sold Churchill the plan for pulling Polish troops out of Russia on the ground that Russia was predoomed to defeat and that these soldiers should be used in the Middle East when the Germans bore down from the Caucasus. London Poles have recently appointed Anders commander of their army-in-exile.

Stevens argues that the Polish government's refusal to let Russian troops enter Poland, should Germany invade, helped determine the Moscow-Berlin agreement. Soviet policy in 1939-40, he believes, gave Russia the time she needed to prepare for the war she knew was inevitable and the additional territory on her western frontier for cushioning the nazi attack. It recalls that Waverly Root in his *Secret History of the War* evaluates Russia's foreign policy as the only realistic one among the United Nations up to the time America entered the war.

Russia, Stevens says, knows she has been badly hurt in this war. She has a lot of restoring of her strength to accomplish. She knows she can not escape from Europe and retire behind an ocean. Russia knows, this writer reports, that no American administration can commit its successors, and that "regardless of the present trend in America toward international cooperation, American isolation is by no means dead."

The Soviet government will support the plans for international peace machinery, Stevens tells us. But she wants security, and she may be expected to rely foremost on her own efforts to insure it. She remembers her experience with the League of Nations. She feels that her geographical position and vital interests entitle her to a voice in Europe commensurate roughly with the role of the United States in the New World.

Russia wants good neighbors, we are told; and she probably will deal realistically to see that she gets them.

ROSCOE ELLARD

The author of this review is professor of Journalism in the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, book review editor for *Editor and Publisher*, editor of publications for the Eno Foundation at Yale University. See also our Who's Who pages.

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Postwar Test Of Free Government

The amount of power that should be given to, or usurped by the Federal Government in dealing with the tremendous problems sure to rise after this war is matter for dispute among many of our best authorities. The four following pages are devoted to two books representing differing points of view. The Editors asked Merlo J. Pusey to review Thomas K. Finletter's book, and they asked Mr. Finletter to review Mr. Pusey's book, *The Government—Can We Control It?*

CAN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT DO THE JOB? by Thomas K. Finletter. Reynal & Hitchock. 184 *pages.* $2.00

HOW shall we adapt American government to its present-day responsibilities? The postwar era will swamp official Washington with problems of mammoth proportions. Among them will be full employment and cooperation with other powers to keep the peace. Both of these objectives call for a government that can act promptly and positively as well as deliberately. It is common knowledge that our federal system as it now operates is not equal to the obligations it is assuming.

Thomas K. Finletter's book, *Can Representative Government Do the Job?* is a thoughtful search for a formula that will give our Government greater efficiency without depriving us of liberty. The present system, he says, virtually compels Congress and the President to work at cross purposes. There have been a few administrations in which strong Presidents have induced Congress to accept most of their programs. But Presidential leadership has been most pronounced in periods of great emergency or war, and the influence of a Chief Executive is certain to wane in peacetime after patronage and other favors have been distributed.

"A government of fits and starts is no longer good enough for our purposes," Finletter writes. "No decent attempt toward a proper domestic policy or toward the task of stopping war can be made unless there is reasonable harmony between Congress and the Executive at all times." Interest naturally centers in the means by which he proposes to keep Congress and the President pulling in the same direction.

First, he would improve the operation of Congress. The committee structure ought to be simplified. Congress must have more complete information from the Executive branch. The Kefauver Resolution providing for the appearance of Cabinet members on the floor of the House to explain policies and answer questions is a means to that end. A strong President without an alert, informed and well organized Congress would give us authoritarianism.

The major reform suggested by the author is the creation of a joint executive-legislative cabinet. Its function would be the formulation of policies for submission to Congress. If constant friction between the White House and the Capitol is to be avoided, congressional leaders must be in on the making of policy. Mr. Finletter thinks that the recent cooperation between the Department of State and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has set a pattern that will be highly useful in developing an executive-legislative cabinet.

Many political scientists have offered similar plans to foster cooperation between the President and Congress in the initial stages of policy-making. Some device of this kind seems to be imperative if our system is to meet its colossal postwar responsibilities. It is by no means clear, however, that it should take the form of a joint cabinet composed of top department heads and legislative leaders as Finletter and previously Professor Corwin have suggested. A less formalized arrangement under which the President would regularly consult with a central committee of legislative leaders would satisfy many critics of the present system.

However, Finletter makes his executive-legislative cabinet part of a much more comprehensive reform. He proposes also a constitutional amendment giving the President "the right to dissolve Congress and the Presidency and to call a general election of all three whenever a deadlock arises between Congress and the Joint Cabinet, and second, to make the terms of the Senate, House, and Presidency of the same length—say six years from the date of each election . . ." The effect would be, he says, more greatly to strengthen the national parties and to provide means of breaking any impasse between the President and Congress.

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Plan Has Defects

FINLETTER prefers this method to adoption of the parliamentary system in this country because it would be an American solution and would preserve the popular election of the President, which, he says, the people would never give up. These are certainly great advantages. But there are enough defects in the plan to dampen any enthusiasm for it. While giving the President power to dissolve Congress, it would give Congress no comparable weapon against the President. Under the British system the Prime Minister must resign when his leadership is repudiated by the House of Commons, unless he is willing to call for a general election. Under Mr. Finletter's plan, the President could suffer defeat on a major policy and still cling to power for six years if he didn't care to appeal to the people. Meanwhile we should have no expression of the popular will, for even members of the House would be serving six-year terms.

Further difficulty would arise from the superimposition of Cabinet government upon our bicameral system. Either the Senate or House may block administration bills. The House alone might upset the President's program but he would have to punish the Senate also by forcing its members to seek re-election. To make this plan operate smoothly the Senate would probably have to be reduced to an advisory body, as Henry Hazlitt has suggested.

Another weakness might arise from lack of cohesion in the proposed executive-legislative cabinet. The President would have no power to dismiss the legislative members of his Cabinet, as the British Prime Minister has. Even with party discipline strengthened, they would doubtless differ with the President frequently, and such deadlocks would not be resolved by the Finletter plan. Useful as many of his suggestions are, Mr. Finletter seems to me to have gone beyond the range of practical reform within the Presidential system.

MERLO J. PUSEY

Pusey has been editorial writer for *The Washington Post* since 1928. He also served as research man for the Senate Finance Committee for two years and as lecturer in journalism at George Washington University. He has contributed to many magazines including *Saturday Evening Post, Harper's,* the *Atlantic Monthly, Yale Review, Forum, American Mercury.* See next page for Finletter's review of Pusey's latest book.

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BIG GOVERNMENT—CAN WE CONTROL IT? by Merlo J. Pusey. Harper. 240 pages. $2.50

MERLO J. PUSEY has made an important contribution to one of the most serious questions of our time—how to reconcile personal liberty with strong government. He believes that Government—by which is meant the executive branch in Washington—is dangerously big. His book is a study of ways to harness this new giant so that it will be the servant and not the master of the people.

In *Big Government—Can We Control It?* Pusey does not propose that we make the Government smaller. This is not a looking backward book. He recognizes that we are in a phase of the economic and political cycle which has moved far from absolute *laissez faire* and compels the State to play a great part in the affairs of the community. But he is deeply concerned about holding this power in check so that liberty shall not be lost.

The author confronts us with a difficult problem of emphasis. He says that "our goal is freedom plus the largest degree of security and prosperity that a free system can attain." Note that freedom has priority, and that we are to have security and prosperity only on the condition that freedom is not impaired. But what do we mean by freedom? No one, I hope, will deny that there are certain political rights in our country—such as freedom of speech and worship, the right to habeas corpus, immunity from double jeopardy, and above all the right of free franchise. These are, or should be, absolute, subject only to reasonable police regulation. There are, however, certain relative freedoms which are invaded by every act of Government. They may be summarized as the right to do what you want with yourself and your property without interference from the State. Here is the gray area where emphasis becomes important. How much should we allow these relative freedoms to be impaired in order to have economic security? Mr. Pusey puts his weight heavily on the side of the relative freedoms.

Pusey is greatly concerned, for example, about the recent decisions of the Supreme Court which have expanded the scope of the commerce clause and with it the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The Court, he says, "has pushed out the bounds of federal power so freely that no one can now tell how far this hinterland of national power extends." The President has made the Court "more Rooseveltian than his own Cabinet. . . . The reconstituted court has gone along with the President and Congress in changing our national government from one of limited powers to one of almost unlimited powers."

Well, are not the problems which the United States will face after the war almost unlimited in difficulty? Why should we restrict the power of the Federal Government to deal with them? This power can be used only if the elected representatives of the people decide that it shall be used. Why are we afraid of Congress? Are not these recent decisions of the Court the normal development of the great unifying opinions of John Marshall and of the principle of unity established by the Civil War? Do these recent decisions do more than bring the powers of the Federal Government up to the needs of the times?

Modernizing Congress

THERE is similar treatment in an interesting chapter on modernizing Congress. He approves the current move toward reforming Congress from within—the proposals for the simplification of the committee structure, for the modification of the seniority rule, and for the creation of some sort of congressional cabinet. But, although "nothing is more essential to smooth operation of our governmental system than harmonious relations between the President and Congress," his proposals to achieve this collaboration are mild. He believes that central committees of the two Houses should meet regularly with the President, and that Cabinet members should appear on the floors of Congress for questioning. "More important than any organizational device, however, is mutual respect by each branch for the powers and responsibilities of the other."

But can we rely only on a change in attitude to stop the conflict between Congress and the Executive which so grievously weakens our Federal Government in peace time? Mr. Pus-

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ey's statement assumes that the main trouble with the Washington Government is a human failing. I disagree. There is no lack of good will on the part of most of the men in government. The trouble is institutional. Important changes in techniques are necessary if our government is to have the smooth collaboration between Congress and the Executive which surely will be needed for the problems of the peace.

THOMAS K. FINLETTER

Finletter is a New York lawyer, formerly a member of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and also former special assistant to the United States Secretary of State. In World War I he served as a captain in the 312th Field Artillery. He has been a contributor to many magazines and is the author of a number of books on law subjects and on corporations. See also Merlo J. Pusey's review of Mr. Finletter's book on government on preceding pages.

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The Complex Problem of Nippon

THROUGH JAPANESE EYES, by Otto D. Tolischus. Reynal & Hitchcock. 182 *pages.* $2.00

WHAT TO DO WITH JAPAN, by Wilfrid Fleisher. Doubleday, Doran. 178 *pages.* $2.00

HERE are two exceedingly worthwhile books by a pair of cautiously able American foreign correspondents, each of whom has represented *The New York Times* in Tokyo after service in Europe. The coincidence of these books prompts an itching in me to do a third book about the other two, in which, to a degree, I would reach conclusions differing with those of my colleagues. Such is the complexity of our Japanese problem. For this very reason, if for no other, I can faithfully urge all and sundry to read and study both books.

Otto Tolischus went through the rise of Nazidom in Germany and arrived in Japan a year or so before he was flung into a Tokyo prison cell on Pearl Harbor Day. Wilfrid Fleisher first saw Japan in 1914 and spent many years there until 1940. He was in a special position to observe our enemy since his father was founder and publisher of Tokyo's English language newspaper, The Japan Advertiser.

Both writers bow to the inscrutability of the Japanese, but not without qualification. Tolischus declares that they "are by *no means* inexplicable," while Fleisher concludes that "we can never *quite* understand their motives and reactions." It is out of these qualifications that the good of each book springs. We are making such a tremendous investment in blood and wealth in the Pacific, that it behooves us to understand the Japanese to protect that investment. These correspondents do much to help us master this inescapable assignment.

I know Tolischus as the very epitome of caution, and in *Through Japanese Eyes* he outdoes himself. He makes utterly certain that no one, not even the enemy can say him nay. His clever device of taking the words out of the mouths of Japanese warlords, statesmen, scientists and scholars renders impossible any refutation. He stands on the thesis that "nobody can explain a nation as adequately as the nation itself. And as a nation, the Japanese have been as articulate as any."

Thereupon Tolischus offers 182 pages chiefly composed of documented Japanese utterances which he asserts are "as plain and unequivocal as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*." Certainly this device is as clever as it is enlightening.

Through Japanese Eyes is an invaluable manual for interpreting the daily news. Doubtless the author will refer to it constantly himself in writing his own editorials for *The New York Times*. I recommend that he do so.

On the likelihood of a Japanese uprising against the Emperor and the warlords, Tolischus provides the answer with a work published in 1928 and used in the Middle Schools of Japan. "Here ruler has always been ruler and subject subject. No subject has ever aspired to be a ruler. . . . We must recognize here one of the special virtues and peculiar beauties which adorn our sacred Empire. Our people have never ventured even in dreams to regard their Emperor as a common or vulgar mortal."

Thus Tolischus carries us in this easily read and startlingly emphatic book through every phase of the eruption of the Japanese people over Asia and the Pacific with his illuminating quotations on relations with China, Britain, Russia and the United States. His theory is that if a Japanese said it, you cannot well deny that it is basically Japanese.

On the other hand, Wilfrid Fleisher's *What To Do With Japan* tells us what the author discovered in that country and what he thinks should be done about it. His book, too, has added validity. As a writer for the Washington Bureau of *The New York Herald Tribune*, Mr. Fleisher sensibly explains that he considered the problem of what to do with Japan as beyond the scope of any one individual. This caused him to seek the views of many of those who will write the peace—both American and foreign statesmen.

Although Mr. Tolischus' book does not discuss our disposition of the Japanese Emperor, he has elsewhere asserted that the Emperor must go. Mr. Fleisher does present the multiple issues of handling the Japanese sovereign after defeat. While he says flatly that the Emperor should be deposed, he refers directly to Hirohito, and thinks that perhaps the Emperor institution might be retained to our advantage for the time being.

In reading these two books side by side, it would seem that our State Department had noted Tolischus' quote regarding the fact that in Japan subject and ruler fit into an unbreakable traditional pattern. Fleisher implies this important fact when he reveals that "the State Department's policy, never officially admitted, was based on the belief that it is impossible to drive a wedge between the Japanese people and the Emperor, and that any attempt to do so would only unite them more

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firmly, while the Emperor might prove a useful instrument in the hands of the United Nations after Japan's defeat, and there was no advantage in attempting to discredit him."

Both Tolischus and Fleisher refer to Japan's policy of rousing East against West. But Fleisher is shrewd when he points out one lesson of Japan's three year occupation of the Asiatic mainland and islands. "If we expect to be welcomed back in Asia with open arms as liberators, we may experience some rude shocks unless we are prepared to return with a new philosophy." I agree with Fleisher that the conquered peoples do not want the Japanese as masters, but then they do want "to be assured that something better awaits them when the white man returns."

What to Do With Japan was written many months before Moscow denounced the Non-Aggression Pact with Japan, but its author covered himself well in predicting that the Russian outlook would change with German defeats. However, he thinks war-weary Russia will not want too much of the burden of fighting in Asia, although the important task of driving the Japanese from Manchuria might well be her lot. This being the case, Mr. Fleisher warns that it will "require the most careful diplomacy to keep relations between the Soviet Union and China on an even keel."

As to the former colonial areas reconquered from Japan and the former Japanese dependencies which will be liberated, Fleisher has in mind international regional councils which could either be supervisory or administrative. He thinks that the British might agree to supervision but not to administrative control.

Fleisher rightly assumes that there must be physical military occupation of Japan accompanied by dissolution of the army and navy with only a civilian police force left. Economic disarmament should include heavy industries, most of them developed in the past fifteen years for war purposes.

However, he would not strip Japan of all of her industries in favor of a purely agricultural state in which only 16% of the land is arable. A Japan controlled in imported raw materials will be militarily impotent in the future, the author believes.

In conclusion, Fleisher has faith in an eventual world organization for which Germany and Japan might in time qualify. As he says, "Peace cannot be the concern of a selected few or even of the majority of the nations, but it must be the business of all."

JOHN GOETTE

John Goette has delved into the various phases of the Japanese mentality during twenty-one years of Far East reporting for the International News Service and the *London Daily Express*.

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Kaltenborn's Transition Literature

EUROPE NOW, by H. V. Kaltenborn. Didier
182 pages. $2.50

THE American appetite for facts has alway been more than a nine-day wonder to our less rapacious neighbors across the seas. Our capacity for devouring news and views and analyses has even kept pace with the increased speed of transmission. We all want to know what will happen before it occurs. Impossible as that may be, it is only a little less miraculous than the velocity our war reporters have achieved in transcribing their notes from the front page into history! Our current non-fiction book-reading is in the main—and has been for more than a decade—the transition literature which the journalists have handed down to the historians.

The service performed by H. V. Kaltenborn's new book, *Europe Now,* is in this tradition, the contemporary historian speeding over the scene in airplane and jeep, recording impressions of events as fleeting as a commentator's broadcast. Mr. Kaltenborn is no pale young man in the grove of Pallas, but an observer and reporter of three decades of unbroken service —a man whose knowledge of Europe's wars was gained, as the saying goes, the hard way. For a newspaperman, this means plying one's trade amidst the compulsion, censorship, intimidation, environmental pressure and the double-talk handouts of chancelleries and propaganda ministries, foreign and domestic. For upward of twenty of these years, H. V., when he wasn't talking or writing from Europe, was brushing up the garbled and cryptic dispatches sent by colleagues and analyzing and explaining their meaning to a vast radio audience of his fellow Americans.

This is a little book about a big war, radiating the authority of the eye-witness and the vitality of an indefatigable reporter. But it's destined to share the fate of many such otherwise useful chronicles because it is as perishable as a Sunday supplement.

This reviewer can also attest to the veracity of the facts with which the volume is crammed, having himself just completed a five-month study against this very same background, following similar tracks over the very same trails. The injection of this personal note might be pardonable if only for the reason that it may underline what was said a moment ago about the volatile nature of such reporting. I wish to use only the example of Antwerp which Kaltenborn describes as undamaged and intact. This vital Belgian port was undoubtedly in this condition when the commentator visited it in December 1944. But in February 1945, Antwerp was more of a shambles than Le Havre, receiving more than a dozen V2's daily. Luckily, the quays and the port installations were not hit too often. But the city itself has by now joined the other noble piles of rubble, a martyr to the service of supplies of Eisenhower's armies.

There is also no quarrel with Kaltenborn's reportage of GI Joe, his eating and fighting and recreational activities in Africa, Italy, France, Germany and Belgium. Let us say that Kaltenborn is no Ernie Pyle or Ralph Ingersoll. For that matter, Kaltenborn also is no Cassandra. In a brilliant summing up in the last chapter he takes up the pessimistic refrain of all those observers who suffer from the Red fear-complex. It would be more alarming if his inferences were as good as his observations. Kaltenborn had come, inevitably, into contact with a strident Communist press in Paris, Brussels and Rome; he had listened, intently I'm sure, to the usual *ancien regimiste* viewer-with-alarm and came away inspired with the same wild fears of the Kremlin's conspiracy against Europe which have dominated so much of the editorial thinking in this country.

The objection here is not too harshly taken with Kaltenborn's holding of such violent anti-Communist views—*chacun son poison.* The whole thing is irritating because he sets them down and presents them with the conviction of a reporter who has truly *seen* and *heard.* And because the contents of *Europe Now* may one day wind up as material on the historian's desk, I challenge the impartiality of such reporting and therefore its value as true history.

It is, of course, a fact that among the greatest writers of history, bias—often unconscious bias —has been the rule, and the total absence of preconceived opinions the exception. Generally speaking, the subjective spirit has prevailed among historians in all ages.

The scope of history, of course, has been widened to an extent that it has come to include every aspect of the life of humanity. Many of the social and economic subjects of which the historian has now to treat are of an extremely controversial character. However high may be the ideal of truth which will be entertained, it would appear that the various forms in which the facts of history may be stated—an example

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is *Europe Now*—and also the conclusions to be drawn from these facts, will tend to divergence rather than to uniformity of treatment. It is not, therefore, probable that the partisan historian—or, at all events, the journalist-historian who will be accused of partisanship—will altogether disappear from the book lists. Neither, on the whole, is his disappearance to be desired, for it would almost certainly connote the composition of somewhat vapid and colorless histories.

BURNET HERSHEY

Burnet Hershey, noted foreign correspondent and author, has just returned to the United States for a brief stay following a five-month tour of the European war fronts.

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In response to inquiries elicited by the publication of an advertisement for the W. L. White book, *Report on the Russians,* in the April issue of FREE WORLD, the publishers wish to make this statement of advertising policy:

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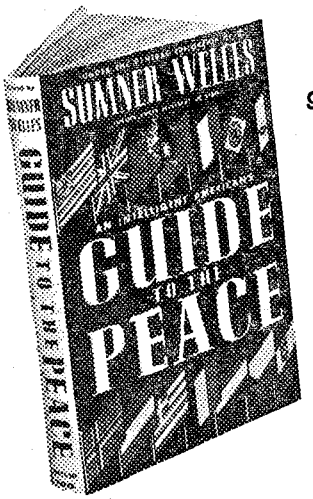

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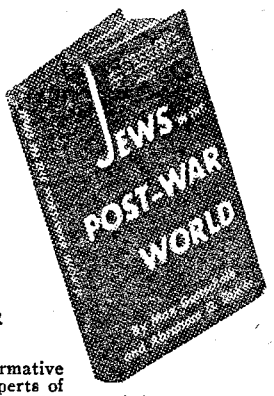

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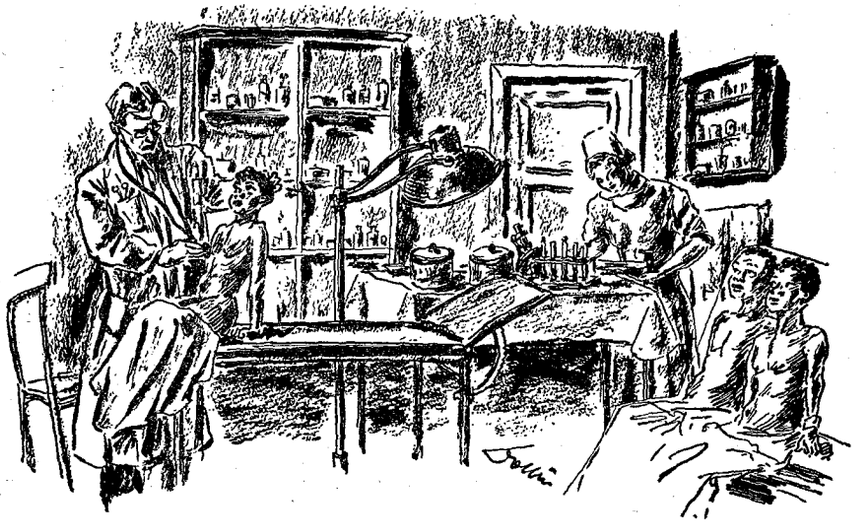

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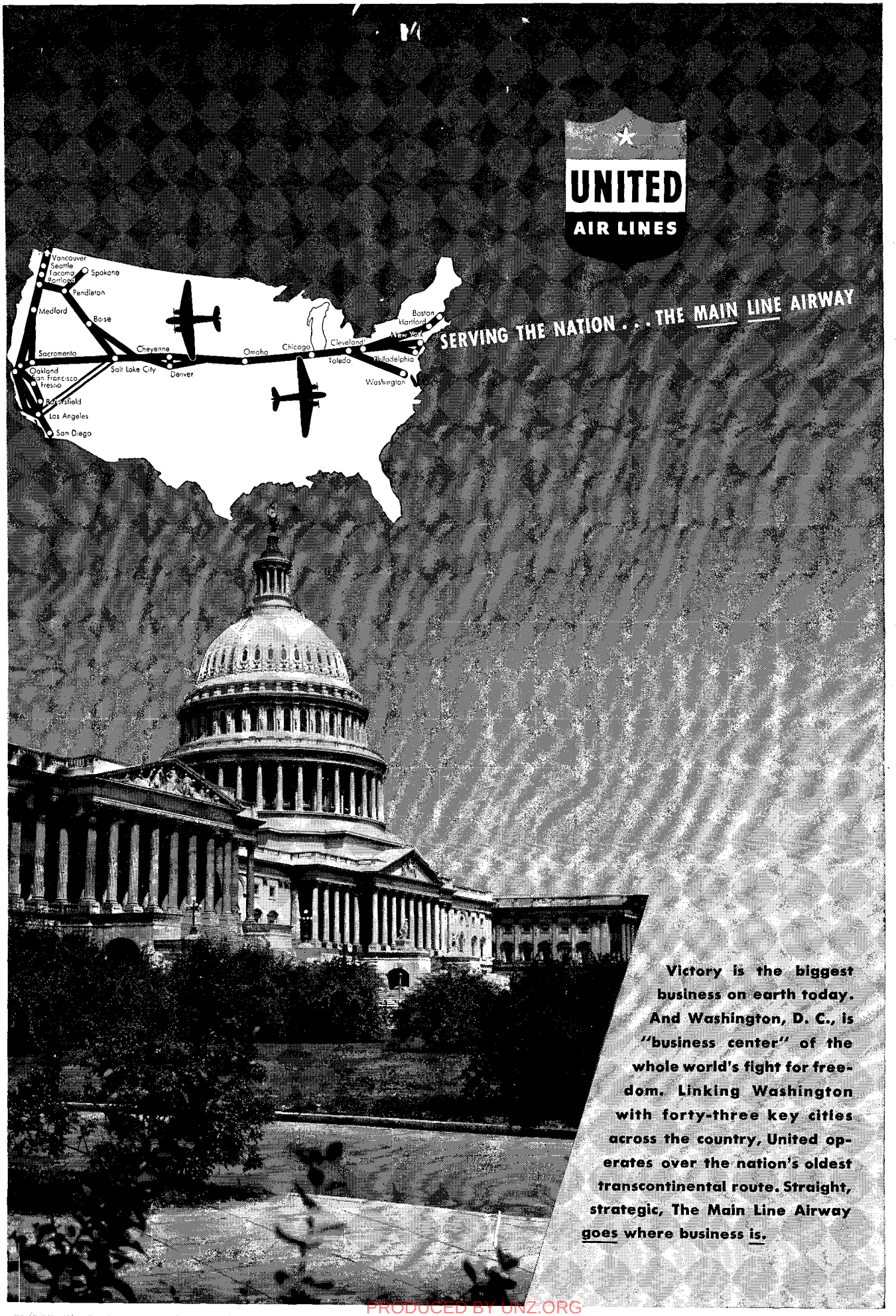

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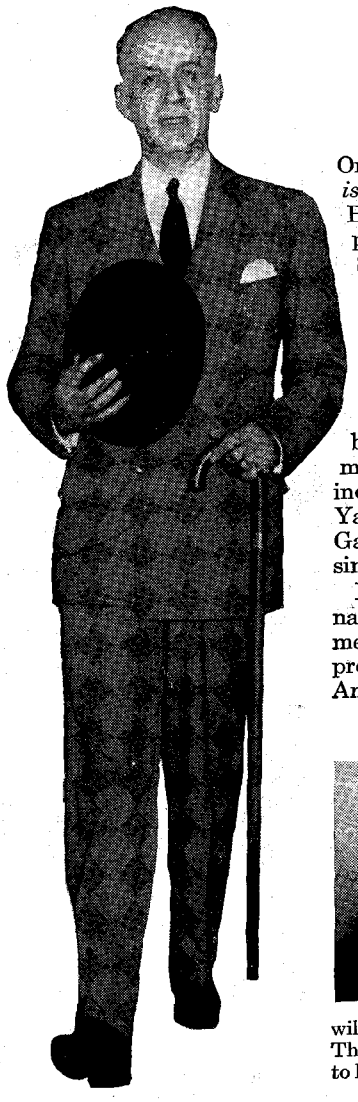

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